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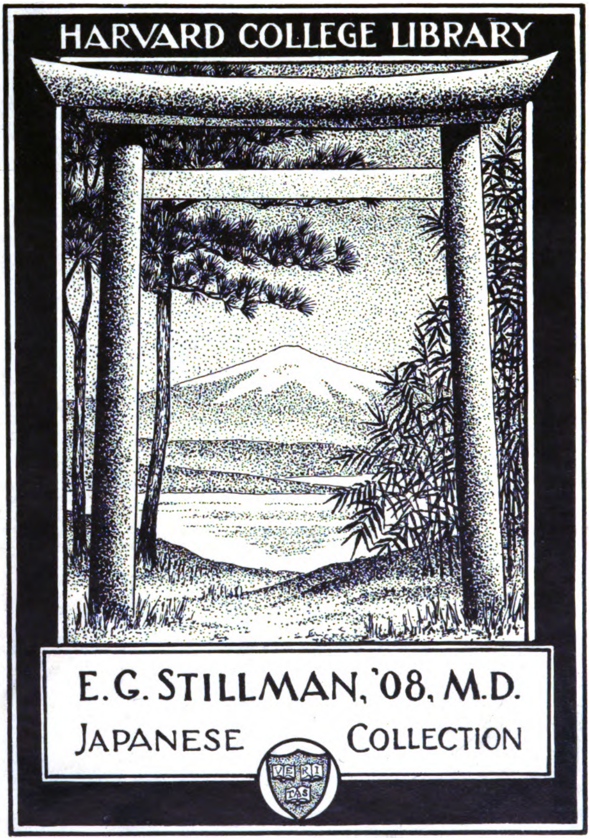

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MÉMOIRE

SUR

L'INTRODUCTION ET L'USAGE

DES CARACTÈRES CHINOIS

AU JAPON,

ET SUR L'ORIGINE DES DIFFÉRENS SYLLABAIRES JAPONAIS;

SUIVI D'UN VOCABULAIRE CORÉEN,

PAR

M. KLAPROTH.

EXTRAIT DU NOUVEAU JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

PARIS,
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1829.

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SUR

L'INTRODUCTION ET L'USAGE

DES CARACTÈRES CHINOIS

AU JAPON,

ET SUR L'ORIGINE DES DIFFÉRENS SYLLABAIRES JAPONAIS;

SUIVI D'UN VOCABULAIRE CORÉEN*.

DEPUIS environ un siècle, plusieurs navires japonais ont été jetés par le mauvais temps sur les côtes du Kamtchatka. Ordinairement destinés à faire seulement le cabotage sur celles du Japon, ils n'étaient pas suffisamment approvisionnés pour tenir la mer pendant long-temps : l'équipage se trouvait donc toujours réduit, par la faim et par la misère, à la moitié ou à un tiers. L'hospitalité russe n'a jamais manqué d'accueillir avec bonté ces malheureux naufragés; et les commandans du Kamtchatka, conformément à leurs instruc-

* Ce mémoire a été lu à la séance de la Société asiatique du 2 janvier 1829.

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tions, les ont dirigés sur Irkoutsk, parce que, suivant la loi du Japon, toute personne qui, née dans cet empire, le quitte, n'y peut rentrer sous peine de mort.

L'impératrice Catherine II, voulant mettre à profit la présence de ces infortunés dans ses états, établit à Irkoutsk une école de navigation, et, près de celle-ci, une chaire de langue japonaise, qui vraisemblablement existe encore. C'est toujours un Japonais qui la remplit, et qui enseigne sa langue maternelle à quelques jeunes Russes; mais rarement ces élèves parviennent à faire quelques progrès. Pendant mon séjour à Irkoutsk en 1805 et 1806, cette place était occupée par un Japonais nommé *Sinsou*, natif d'*Isseï*, lequel, ayant été converti à la religion grecque, avait reçu le nom russe de *Kolotygin*, et pour nom de baptême et surnom ceux de *Nikolaï Pétrovitch*.

J'eus occasion de me procurer, à Irkoutsk, un exemplaire d'un dictionnaire japonais-chinois, intitulé *Faya biki sets iyoo sio* (1), c'est-à-dire, *Recueil qui enseigne avec promptitude l'usage des expressions.* L'auteur, qui ne s'est pas nommé, se cache sous le nom de *promeneur de Kioko*. Cet ouvrage, très-répandu au Japon, a été souvent réimprimé. La plus ancienne édition que je connaisse et que je possède, est de 1757.

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(1) 集シフ 用イヨウ 節セツ 引ビキ 早ハヤ

Je mets, dans ce mémoire, à coté des caractères chinois, leur prononciation japonaise en caractères *kata kana*.

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En 1760, l'auteur en donna une nouvelle, qu'il revit, et dans laquelle il plaça les caractères chinois droits (*sin zi*) à côté des caractères cursifs de la première. *Sinsou* possédait une édition de ce genre imprimée en 1776 à Yedo; j'en ai une publiée dans la même ville en 1800. Dans ce dictionnaire, les mots sont rangés selon l'ordre de l'*i ro fa* ou du syllabaire japonais, et écrits en caractères chinois et en *fira kana*.

Avec le secours de ce livre et à l'aide de *Sinsou*, je m'appliquai à l'étude de la langue japonaise, et je fis un extrait de ce dictionnaire, que je traduisis en allemand.

On me communiqua, à Irkoutsk, un autre ouvrage japonais-chinois, imprimé, en 1703, à Miyako, et intitulé *Sitsi i ro fa te fon* (1), c'est-à-dire, *Manuel des sept alphabets*. C'est un petit volume *in-folio* très-curieux, qui contient en effet sept syllabaires, en tête desquels est placé celui qu'on appelle *fira kana;* puis viennent les six autres exprimés par des caractères chinois un peu cursifs, appelés généralement *yamato kana*, qui représentent des syllabes japonaises. A droite de ces derniers, on lit, en japonais et en *fira kana*, la signification qu'ils ont en chinois. Ce grand syllabaire est suivi des noms de nombre également septuples, des caractères cycliques et du syllabaire *kata kana*. Mais ce qui donne à ce petit ouvrage un intérêt beaucoup plus grand, c'est une introduction en chinois et en ja-

(1) 本手波呂以七

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ponais, contenant l'histoire de l'origine des différentes écritures usitées au Japon. Comme le propriétaire de ce livre ne voulait pas s'en dessaisir, je fis un extrait de cette introduction, que j'ai l'honneur de communiquer à la Société asiatique, et que je fais précéder par quelques observations sur l'origine de la civilisation japonaise.

L'archipel qui forme l'empire du Japon est habité par un peuple qui, au premier abord, ressemble beaucoup aux Chinois par la figure et l'extérieur. Cependant, en examinant avec soin ses traits caractéristiques, et en les comparant à ceux des Chinois, on parvient aisément à reconnaître ce qui les différencie, comme j'en ai fait l'expérience à la frontière russe et chinoise, où je voyais ensemble plusieurs individus des deux nations. L'œil du Japonais, quoique presque aussi obliquement posé que celui du Chinois, est pourtant plus grand du côté du nez, et le milieu de sa paupière paraît tiré en haut quand il est ouvert. Cette conformation naturelle indique déjà une origine différente : elle est constatée par la langue japonaise, qui diffère essentiellement de celles des peuples qui avoisinent le Japon. Quoiqu'elle ait adopté un grand nombre de mots chinois, ces mots n'en forment pas une partie radicalement intégrante; ils y sont introduits par des colonies chinoises, et principalement par la littérature de la Chine, qui a servi de base à celle du Japon. Les radicaux japonais n'offrent pas non plus de ressemblance avec ceux de la langue des Coréens, comme on peut le voir par le vocabulaire qui

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se trouve à la fin de ce mémoire. Ils sont également étrangers aux idiomes des Aïnos, ou habitans kouriles de Ieso, dont on peut consulter les amples vocabulaires que j'ai insérés dans mon *Asia polyglotta*. Enfin le japonais n'a pas non plus de rapport avec les langues des Mandchou et des autres tribus toungouses qui habitent le continent de l'Asie situé vis-à-vis du Japon.

L'histoire véritable du Japon ne commence qu'en 660 avant notre ère, avec *Sin mou*, ou *le guerrier divin*, qui est regardé comme le fondateur de la monarchie. C'est de lui que descend la famille des *dairi*, que nous sommes accoutumés à appeler *empereurs ecclésiastiques*. Son nom indique un conquérant étranger. Il civilisa les barbares d'*Akitsou no sima*: c'était l'ancien nom du Japon; il signifie *île de la demoiselle*, parce que les habitans trouvent une certaine ressemblance entre la forme de cet insecte et celle de leur pays.

Sin mou et ses trois frères, qu'on dit avoir régné avant lui, étaient vraisemblablement d'origine chinoise. Leur famille sortit peut-être de la Chine, pendant les troubles qui agitèrent ce pays, sous la dynastie des *Tcheou*, et se réfugia dans un autre pays plus oriental, d'où elle arriva ensuite au Japon. Cette conjecture paraît d'autant plus fondée, que les Japonais ne savent rien des événemens qui, dans leur patrie, ont précédé l'arrivée de *Sin mou*, et qu'ils remplissent le vide qui existe dans leurs chroniques entre ce monarque et la dynastie fabuleuse des demi-dieux, par les noms des

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premiers empereurs de la Chine. Ceux des anciens *daïri* sont aussi chinois, et non pas japonais, comme cela aurait dû être si leur famille avait été indigène.

Après la première colonie chinoise venue au Japon sous la conduite du *guerrier divin* et de ses frères, plusieurs autres y sont arrivées, et nommément une expédition composée de trois cents couples de jeunes gens, envoyés par l'empereur de la Chine *Thsin chi houang ti* à travers la Mer Orientale, pour chercher le remède qui produit l'immortalité. Elle aborda au Japon en 209 avant notre ère, et s'y fixa pour ne plus retourner en Chine. L'ancien mélange des habitans primitifs du Japon avec les Chinois se manifeste aussi par une civilisation tout-à-fait semblable, et principalement par la multitude des mots chinois introduits dans la langue japonaise et défigurés par la prononciation.

Sin mou fixa la durée de l'année, et la divisa en mois et en jours. Il donna des lois aux tribus sauvages, il introduisit la religion et le culte des idoles. Jusqu'au commencement du III.^{e} siècle après J. C., l'histoire du Japon est encore fabuleuse, et donne une trop longue durée aux règnes et à la vie des *daïri;* de sorte que, depuis l'an 660 avant notre ère jusqu'en 270 après cette époque, ou pendant une suite de 910 ans, elle ne compte que *quinze* empereurs qui se sont succédés les uns aux autres; nombre trop peu considérable pour un si grand espace de temps.

Il ne paraît pas que les colonies chinoises qui anciennement se sont fixées au Japon, y aient répandu

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l'usage de l'écriture, qu'elles gardaient peut-être comme un secret utile à elles seules; car nous verrons que l'art de communiquer ses idées par écrit, ne fut introduit au Japon que dans le III.e siècle de J. C.

On sait que les Japonais se servent à présent de deux genres d'écriture, c'est-à-dire qu'ils emploient, ou les caractères idéographiques des Chinois, ou un syllabaire composé de *quarante-sept* syllabes, qui sont représentées par diverses séries de signes.

Jusqu'au temps du 16.e *daïri*, nommé *O zin ten ô* (1), les Japonais n'avaient pas d'écriture; toutes les ordonnances et les proclamations se faisaient de vive voix. Ce ne fut que sous le règne de ce prince qu'on commença à se servir des caractères chinois nommés *sin zi* (2) et plus tard *kan zi* (3), c'est-à-dire, lettres de *Thsin* et de *Han*. *O zin ten o* envoya aussi, en 284 (le 6.e jour de la 8.e lune), une ambassade dans le royaume de *Fakou saï*, en chinois *Pe tsi* (4), qui existait alors dans la partie sud-ouest de la Corée, pour y chercher des hommes instruits et en état de répandre la civilisation et la littérature de la Chine dans son pays. Cette ambassade ramena avec elle le

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(1) 應神天皇

(2) 秦字

(3) 漢字

(4) 百濟

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célèbre *Vo nin*, en chinois *Vang jin*, qui remplit parfaitement l'objet que le *dairi* se proposait.

Voici ce que les annales japonaises intitulées *Sio nitsu pon gi* (1), nous apprennent sur ce personnage. « *Vo nin* (2) était de la famille de l'empereur *Kao tsu*, » de la dynastie des Han. Ce monarque avait un descen- » dant nommé *Ran*, en chinois *Louan* (3); *Vo kou*, en » chinois *Vang keou* (4), était de la postérité de ce » dernier; il alla dans le *Fakou sai*. Dans le temps que » *Ko sou vo*, en chinois *Kieou sou vang* (5), régnait » dans ce pays, *Ozin ten ô*, empereur du Japon, lui fit » demander, par une ambassade, un homme lettré. » *Ko sou vo* choisit alors *Vo nin*, fils de *Vo kou*, » et l'envoya présenter ses hommages à l'empereur. » *Vo nin* arriva à la cour, dans la seconde lune de » l'an 285, et fut nommé instituteur des deux princes

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(1) 記ギ 本ホン 日ニッ 繡シウ

(2) 仁ニン 王クウ

(3) 鸞ラン

(4) 狗ク 王クウ

(5) 王クウ 素ス 久キウ

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« *Nan fa oo zi* (1) et *Ou dzi oo zi* (2). » C'est de lui que date l'introduction de la littérature au Japon. Ses descendans ont rempli de hautes dignités militaires sous le règne de *Kouan mou ten o*, 50.e *daïri*, entre 781 et 805 de J. C.

Le mérite de *Vo nin* a paru si éminent aux Japonais, qu'ils lui ont accordé des honneurs divins. Son temple principal est dans la province d'*Izoumi*, et s'appelle *Too yara daï mioo sin*. *Vo nin* y est adoré conjointement avec *Giou to ten o*, c'est-à-dire, *l'empereur céleste à tête de bœuf* (3).

Depuis le temps de *Vo nin* jusqu'à nos jours, les signes idéographiques de la Chine sont restés en usage chez les Japonais : ainsi que la langue chinoise, ils sont principalement employés dans les ouvrages savans; mais cela n'empêche pas que leur connoissance ne soit répandue dans tout le Japon. Cependant, comme la construction de la langue japonaise diffère sensiblement de celle des Chinois, et comme les mêmes caractères chinois ont souvent plusieurs significations, on

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(1) 王子 皇ワウ 波ハ 難ナン

(2) 王子 皇ワウ 道ダウ 菟ウ

(3) *Voy.* la grande Encyclopédie japonaise et chinoise intitulée 倭漢三才圖會 *Wo han san thsai thou hoei*, vol. LXXVI, fol. 4.

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s'aperçut bientôt qu'on manquait d'un moyen de parer à cet inconvénient; on inventa donc, dans la première moitié du VIII.e siècle, un syllabaire formé de portions de caractères chinois, qu'on appela, pour cette raison, *kata-kana* (1), c'est-à-dire, *moitiés de lettres*, ou de *signes de dénomination.*

Voici la série des signes qui composent ce syllabaire:

エ *ye.*	ア *a.*	ヤ *ya.*	ラ *ra.*	ヨ *yo.*	チ *tsi.*	イ *i.*
ヒ *fi.*	サ *sa.*	マ *ma.*	ム *mou.*	タ *ta.*	リ *ri.*	ロ *ro.*
モ *mo.*	キ *ki.*	ケ *ke.*	ウ *rou.*	レ *re.*	ヌ *nou.*	ハ *fa.*
セ *se.*	ユ *you.*	フ *fou.*	井 *i.*	ソ *so.*	ル *rou.*	ニ *ni.*
ス *sou.*	メ *me.*	コ *ko.*	ノ *no.*	ツ *tsou.*	ヲ *o.*	ホ *fo.*
	ミ *mi.*	エ *ye.*	オ *o.*	子 *ne.*	ワ *wa.*	ヘ *fe.*
	シ *si.*	テ *te.*	ク *kou.*	ナ *na.*	カ *ka.*	ト *to.*

On a répété sur la planche jointe à ce mémoire, la série de ce syllabaire, en y ajoutant les caractères

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(1) 名カ+假カ片カタ

chinois dont ses signes ne sont que l'indication; car ils ne se composent que de quelques traits de ces mêmes caractères, et il n'y a dans ce syllabaire que les quatre lettres suivantes, 千 *tsi*, 井 *i*, 子 *ne* et 三 *mi*, qui soient des caractères chinois entiers (1).

On se sert du *kata kana*, syllabaire composé de *quarante-sept* signes, pour indiquer, à côté des caractères chinois, leur prononciation, ou leur signification en japonais, ainsi que pour marquer les formes grammaticales de cet idiome, rendues difficiles par l'usage des signes idéographiques.

L'écrivain que j'extrais dit qu'on ne connaît pas l'auteur de ce syllabaire, mais que la tradition vulgaire en attribue l'invention à l'illustre *Kibi* (2); cependant ce fait n'est pas avéré. Un autre ouvrage japonais que je possède, et qui porte le titre de *Wa zi si* (3), ou *Origine des choses au Japon*, assure

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(1) *Setsi I ro fa te pon*, fol. 2 *verso*. — *Voyez*, pour les détails de la lecture de ce syllabaire et de celui appelé *fira kana*, la *Grammaire japonaise* du P. Rodrigues, et l'*Analyse de la grande Encyclopédie japonaise*, par M. Abel-Rémusat, insérée dans les *Notices et extraits des mss. de la bibl. du Roi*, v. XI.

(2) 備ビ 吉キ

(3) 始シ 事ジ 和ワ Cet ouvrage se compose de six volumes, et contient des notices historiques sur les découvertes, les inventions et l'introduction des choses, des mœurs et des usages, qu'on ne connaissait pas anciennement au Japon. L'auteur est *Kaibara Toksin*. Il écrivit sa préface en 1696.

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(vol. IV, fol. 24) que *Kibi* composa le syllabaire *kata-kana*, et cite, à l'appui de cette assertion, les annales *Yamato no kouni fin ki* (1).

Ki bi ou *Ki bi ko* (2), le comte *Kibi*, était grand de l'empire. A l'âge de vingt-trois ans, il fut envoyé en Chine pour y étudier. Il revint en 733, remplit pendant sa vie plusieurs postes éminens, et mourut, en 775, âgé de 83 ans. Il est vénéré comme un des plus grands saints de la religion de *Sin to*. Son principal temple est dans la province *Yama siro* et s'appelle *Kami go rioo si* (3).

Un an après la mort de *Kibi*, naquit le fameux bonze *Ko bo* (4), auteur d'un autre syllabaire qui fut définitivement employé à écrire la langue japonaise seule, sans qu'il fût nécessaire d'avoir recours aux caractères chinois. Ce syllabaire, qui porte le nom de *fira kana* (5), ou d'*écriture égale* ou *étendue*, se compose, ainsi que le *kata kana*, de *quarante-sept*

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(1) 大ヤ和マト國クニ本ホン紀キ

(2) 吉キ備ビ公コウ

(3) *Voy.* le *Wo han san tsai thou hoei*, v. LXXII, f. 16.

(4) 弘コウ法バ

(5) 平ヒラ假カ名ナ et non pas *firo kana*, comme Kæmpfer l'écrit.

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signes dérivés de caractères chinois, comme on peut s'en convaincre par la planche dans laquelle la colonne V montre les lettres de ce syllabaire.

Voici ce que l'auteur du *Setsi I ro fa ta pon* dit sur l'origine du syllabaire *fira kana* : « La chanson de l'*I* » *ro fa* (car on nomme ainsi le syllabaire, parce qu'on » le récite en chantant) se compose de quarante-sept » lettres. Les douze premières, depuis l'*i* jusqu'à l'*o*, » furent faites par le bonze *Go mioo* (1), et les trente-» cinq autres, depuis *va* jusqu'à *sou*, y furent ajoutées » par *Ko bo daï si* (2). Ils les firent ainsi pour se con-» former aux *fan zi* (3), ou caractères de l'Inde, qui » se composent de douze *mata* (4) ou voyelles, et de » trente-cinq *teï mon* (5) ou consonnes. »

Le mot *mata* est le sanscrit मात्र *mâtra*, qui signifie *mesure* et ensuite *voyelle;* car les voyelles brèves sont appelées, par les grammairiens hindous,

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(1) 命ミヤウ護ユ

(2) 師シ大ダイ法バフ弘コウ

(3) 字ジ梵ハン (4) 多タ麻マ

(5) 文モン體テイ

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एकमात्र *ekamâtra*, ou d'une mesure, et les longues, द्विमात्र *dvimâtra*, ou de deux mesures.

Je fais suivre ici la note biographique sur *Ko bo*, donnée dans la grande Encyclopédie japonaise (volume LXXVI, fol. 34), à propos d'un temple célèbre de la province de *Kii*.

« Le temple *Kon go bou si* est dans le district » d'*Ito*, à 29 *ri* (1) de Yedo et à 16 d'Oosaka. Il fut » fondé sous le règne de *Saga ten o*, 52.e dairi. » Ses revenus sont de 21,700 *isi* ou pierres de riz (2). » Il n'est pas permis aux femmes d'entrer dans son » enceinte sacrée. Il est entouré de 7,770 habitations » qui y appartiennent. Ce fut *Ko bo dai si* qui en » jeta les fondemens. Ce grand maître de la doctrine » était natif de *Fioo fouka oura*, du district *Ta to*, » province de *Sanouki*. Son père fut le comte *Sai* » *ki no atafi ta kimi*, et sa mère, la fille de l'officier » *Ato no si kouan*. Elle rêva qu'elle était embrassée » par un prêtre de *Fan* (de l'Inde), en devint enceinte, » et mit au monde ce fils, douze mois après son rêve, » en 774, le 15.e de la 6.e lune. Cet enfant montra, » dès son bas âge, beaucoup d'esprit naturel, de sorte » qu'on l'appela *le garçon spirituel*. Il pénétra bientôt » le sens des six *king* et des livres d'histoire. Il fut

(1) Un 里 *ri* japonais contient dix 里 *li* chinois actuels. Le degré a 18 *ri* japonais et 1/2.

(2) Autrefois, l'*isi* était de 120 livres japonaises ; à présent, il n'en contient que 72.

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» reçu parmi les disciples du célèbre bonze *Kin ho*,
» du temple *Ysi yen si*, et commença alors à ap-
» profondir les livres de la loi de Bouddha; il s'ap-
» pliqua aussi à l'étude de la composition des carac-
» tères chinois d'après les six règles (*lo chou*), et
» des huit sortes de lettres (*pa ti*). A l'âge de vingt
» ans, il reçut le titre de *Ko kai* (1), ou de *mer du*
» *vide*, et, en 802, celui de *Ko bo dai si*, c'est-à-dire,
» *le grand maître qui répand la loi*. A l'âge de
» trente ans, il fut envoyé en Chine et s'embarqua
» sur un vaisseau chinois: il arriva dans ce pays
» l'année suivante, dans le temps de l'empereur *Te*
» *tsoung*, de la dynastie de Thang. Il y étudia la
» doctrine de Bouddha sous la direction du bonze
» *Hoei ko*, retourna au Japon au bout de trois ans, et
» habita dans le temple de la montagne *Maki no*
» *yama*, dans la province d'*Izoumi*. En 830, il reçut
» un nouveau titre d'honneur, qui signifie *le grand*
» *maître de la doctrine, dont le pinceau, trempé dans*
» *l'aurore, transmet la lumière*. Il fit alors son séjour
» dans le temple *Dai rio si*, sur une haute montagne
» de la province d'Ava, et dans celui de *Ya do saki*,
» dans celle de Tosa. En 824, il y eut une grande
» sécheresse dans l'empire; il prescrivit alors, pour
» obtenir la pluie, des formules de prière qui furent
» exaucées. A l'âge de quarante-trois ans, il jeta les
» fondemens du temple *Kon go bou si* sur la mon-

(1) 海カイ空クウ

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» tagnè *Ko ya yama*, lequel fut achevé en 890, » après sa mort. Il mourut en 835, le 1.er jour de » la 3.e lune, âgé de 62 ans (1). »

L'introduction du Syllabaire japonais poursuit ainsi: » On lit dans l'*Aperçu de la littérature de Thao* » *tsoung i* (2): Dans l'année 1006, un bonze, de la » religion de Bouddha, vint du royaume de Japon » pour porter le tribut aux Soung. Il ne comprenait » pas la langue parlée de la Chine; mais comme il » écrivait très-bien, on le chargea de rédiger une table » de mots chinois avec la traduction en japonais. Il

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(1) *Koubo daï si* a beaucoup de temples et de sanctuaires au Japon. On voit encore aujourd'hui dans le district de *Fira se*, province de *Yamato*, trois *ike* ou étangs que ce saint homme a fait creuser. Ils sont appelés *A-ike*, *Fa-ike* et *Houn-ike* (アイケ ハイケ ウンケ). Les premières syllabes des noms ne s'écrivent pas en caractères japonais ou chinois, mais en lettres *dévanagari* corrompues, telles qu'on les emploie au Japon, savoir :

La grande Encyclopédie japonaise, qui me fournit cette notice (vol. LXXIII, fol. 32 *verso*), ne donne pas la raison de cette manière inusitée d'écrire ces noms; elle se rapporte vraisemblablement à quelque tradition bouddhique.

(2) 陶宗儀書史會要

Le savant Deguignes père a commis une erreur singulière en parlant de cet ouvrage dans la *Table des auteurs* cités dans son *Histoire des Huns* (vol. V, pag. 374). Il y appelle ce livre *Tao tçong y*, ou mémoires concernant les Mogols, en *chinois*. » Cependant *Tao tsoung i* est le nom de l'auteur du *Chu sçu hoei yao*, ou

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» s'appelait *Ziak so*, en chinois *Tsy tchao* (1). » Il fit à cette occasion des lettres pour son pays, » au nombre de quarante-sept; elles suffisaient à tout » exprimer, d'après un système semblable à celui de » l'écriture mongole. » L'auteur japonais ajoute: « Sous » le règne de *Yetsi zioo no ing*, 66.e dairi, la 2.e an- » née du nengo *Tsiao foa* (1000 de J. C.), le bonze » *Ziak so*, du temple *Yen ri si*, alla dans l'empire » des *Soung* (la Chine), d'où il rapporta l'*I ro fa* » qui suit. » (*Voyez* ce syllabaire sur la planche, colonne IV).

« *Ziak so* porta aussi le titre de *Yen tsou daï si*; » ses disciples se conformèrent à sa doctrine, qui fut » en vogue pendant 160 ans. On voit, ajoute l'au- » teur japonais, que les formes des lettres de l'*I ro fa*, » données dans l'*Aperçu de la littérature* que je viens » de citer, diffèrent, en plusieurs points, du sylla- » baire *fira kana*, ordinairement en usage. Les quatre » signes *ra*, *yo*, *mé* et *sou* ressemblent déjà fort peu

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de l'*Aperçu de la littérature*. Il vivait sous les *Ming*, et son ouvrage, en huit volumes, contient une histoire générale de la littérature et des savans, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la dynastie mongole des *Yuan*. *Tohu meou chu* y a ajouté un volume supplémentaire (voyez *Si khou thsiuan chu wen ming mou lou*, vol. XII, fol. 8 *recto*). Ce qui paraît avoir induit en erreur Daguignes, ce sont les syllabaires mongols et japonais que l'auteur a donnés dans son livre; ils lui ont fait penser que cet ouvrage contenait des mémoires sur les Mongols.

(1) 昭セウ寂ジヤク

» à celles du dernier, mais six autres *o*, *ni*, *tsou*, *na*, » *ya* et *mi* en sont tout-à-fait différens. On rapporte » que l'ordre actuel de l'*I ro fa* est dû aux prêtres *Kin* » *so* (1), du temple Ysi yen si, *Saï tsioo*, de celui de » Yen ri si, et *Ko bo*, du mont Ko ya yama. D'autres » disent qu'il est l'ouvrage de *Go mioo* (2), du temple » Kouan ko si, et de *Ko kaï* (ou *Ko bo*). Ce n'était » pourtant pas une idée neuve de composer ce syllabaire de *quarante-sept* signes, et Ko kaï a tout » simplement adopté ce nombre parce que le syllabaire de l'Inde, apporté par le bonze *Sits tan*, avait » autant de lettres. Quant au caractère 京 *kioo* » (qui fait à présent la quarante-huitième lettre), il fut » ajouté plus tard, quelques-uns disent par *Saï tsioo*,

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(1) *Kin so so dzio*, de la famille de 秦 *Sin*, naquit dans le district de *Taka iki*, de la province de Yamato. Sa mère ayant rêvé qu'elle se trouvait dans les bras d'un être auguste et resplendissant, devint enceinte, et le mit au monde. A l'âge de douze ans il entra dans un couvent de bonzes, et remplit successivement plusieurs hautes dignités dans l'ordre monastique. Ce fut entre 810 et 823 qu'il reçut le titre honorifique de *Kin so*. Il mourut en 827, âgé de 74 ans; le 53.e dairi *Zun wa ten o* lui conféra le titre posthume de *So dzio*. Voyez *Wa kan san thsai thou hoei*, vol. LXXIII, fol. 17 et 18.

(2) *Go mioo so dzio*, également de la famille de *Sin*, naquit dans le district *Kakami* de la province *Mino*. A l'âge de cinq ans, on l'envoya chez les bonzes de la montagne *Yosi noka*. Après y être resté pendant quelques années, il retourna chez ses parens, qui allèrent plus tard s'établir avec lui près des temples de cette montagne. Il devint bientot un bonze célèbre; en 827, il reçut le titre de *So dzio*, et mourut en 834, âgé de 85 ans, dans le temple *Kouan ko zi*.—*Wo kan san thsai thou hoei*, loc. cit.

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» mais cela n'est pas démontré (1). L'*I ro fa* de Ziak » so n'a pas cette lettre.

» Il y a encore un autre ancien syllabaire avec » lequel était écrite la collection de vers appelée *Man* » *yo sio* (ou *de dix mille feuilles*) (2), et qui, pour » cette raison, porte le nom de *Man yô kana*. On » mêle souvent ses signes avec ceux des deux sylla- » baires précédens. »

Ce syllabaire suit le même ordre que tous les autres; il se compose de caractères chinois entiers, droits ou cursifs, dont plusieurs peuvent servir à représenter la même syllabe. En voici le prototype; quant au même syllabaire en caractères cursifs, on le trouvera dans la planche, colonne II.

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(1) Ce caractère *kio* ne sert qu'à désigner la résidence du dairi, qui est *Miyako*.

(2) 集シ 葉ヨ 萬ン / 集フ 葉フ 萬ン Les caractères chinois qui composent ce syllabaire, ainsi que tous ceux des autres, ne représentent pas toujours le son chinois des mots qu'ils désignent; ainsi *kiang*, fleuve, en chinois, représente la syllabe *ye*, qui, en japonais, a la même signification; de même *niu*, femme, en chinois, est employé pour désigner le mot japonais *me*, qui signifie aussi femme. M. Siebold se trompe en disant : *Characteres* Manjoo kana *mere sunt chinenses, in ore chinensi eundem quoque fere sonum, quem in alphabeto japonico imitentur, sonantes.* Voyez son *Epitome linguæ japonicæ*, dans les *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*; vol. XI, pag. 78.

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SYLLABAIRE *MAN YÔ KANA*.

以 *i*	呂 *ro*	波 *fa*	仁 *ni*	保 *fo*	血 *fe*	登 *to*
知 *tsi*	利 *ri*	奴 *nou*	留 *rou*	遠 *o*	和 *wa*	迦 *ka*
與 *yo*	太 *tai*	禮 *re*	曾 *so*	津 *tsou*	禰 *ne*	奈 *na*
良 *ra*	武 *mou*	宇 *eu*	爲 *y*	乃 *no*	於 *o*	久 *kou*
也 *ya*	萬 *ma*	計 *ke*	不 *fou*	己 *ko*	江 *ye*	天 *te*
安 *a*	佐 *sa*	幾 *ki*	由 *you*	女 *me*	美 *mi*	之 *si*
惠 *ye*	飛 *fi*	毛 *mo*	世 *se*	寸 *sou*		

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Un autre syllabaire japonais, représenté sur la planche, colonne III, se compose de caractères chinois considérablement abrégés, et s'appelle *Yamato kana* (1), c'est-à-dire, *écriture japonaise* (par excellence). Il est rare qu'on se serve seulement d'un de ces syllabaires, à l'exception du *kata kana*; ordinairement on mêle les lettres de plusieurs ensemble, ce qui rend la lecture de ces sortes d'écrits d'autant plus difficile et pénible, que leurs caractères, qui sont déjà assez confus, se trouvent encore liés ensemble par des traits qui leur sont étrangers.

Voilà ce que j'ai pu recueillir dans les livres japonais-chinois, sur ce qui a rapport à l'introduction de l'écriture dans le Japon; mais je saisis cette occasion pour rectifier une erreur du célèbre *Kæmpfer*, relative à l'histoire de cet empire; erreur d'autant plus importante à corriger, qu'elle pourrait donner lieu à des conjectures sans fondement sur le mélange des habitans primitifs de ce pays avec un peuple du continent de l'Asie.

Kæmpfer rapporte le fait suivant, qu'il dit avoir tiré des annales du Japon, et qui arriva sous *Kwan mou*, 50.e daïri, lequel régna depuis 782 jusqu'en 805 de notre ère : « Dans la 6.e année de son règne, » un peuple étranger vint, non de la Chine, mais

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(1) 倭カ假ナ名ヤマト

» d'un pays un peu éloigné, attaquer le Japon. Les » Japonais firent tous leurs efforts pour se délivrer » de cette invasion; mais leur résistance fut trop » faible, parce que les pertes de l'ennemi étaient tou» jours remplacées par l'arrivée de nouvelles levées. » Neuf ans après l'apparition de ces étrangers, on » envoya contre eux *Tamabar*, général célèbre et » brave; il les combattit avec succès, les défit en» tièrement, et tua leur *troyi*, ou général en chef. » Cependant ces ennemis se soutinrent encore pen» dant quelque temps, et ne furent totalement battus » qu'en l'an 1466 de *Syn mou*, ainsi 18 ans après » leur première arrivée (1). »

Ce récit pourrait faire supposer une invasion des Coréens, ou bien de quelque peuple de la race toungouse ou mongole; mais si l'on compare le texte des annales *Ni pon oo dai itsi ran*, que Kæmpfer a consulté, avec l'extrait qu'il en a donné, on reconnaît qu'il n'y est nullement question d'une nation étrangère, mais qu'il s'agit d'un peuple originaire de *Wo siou* (2), *Mouts* (3) ou *Mitsinokou* (4), province la plus septentrionale de la grande île de *Niphon*. Ce peuple était vraisemblablement de la même famille que les *Ainos* ou *Kouriles*, nation qui occupe encore au-

(1) E. Kæmpfer's *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan*. Lemgow, 1777, *in-4.°* vol. I, pag. 211.

(2) 州シウ 奥アウ (3) 奥デ 陸ム

(4) ク ノ チ 三

jourd'hui Ieso, Tarrakaï et les îles situées entre le Japon et le Kamtchatka, ainsi que la pointe méridionale de cette presqu'île, et les côtes de la Tartarie orientale voisines de l'embouchure de l'Amour.

L'histoire du Japon dit que ces tribus firent leur première invasion dans la 12.e lune de la 7.e année du règne de *Kwan mou*, c'est-à-dire, dans les premiers mois de 788 de J. C. Elle les appelle *Wo siou i boukou* (1), ou les brigands barbares de Wo siou. Dans leurs premières guerres contre eux, les Japonais avaient pour général *Ko sa mi* (2), qui combattit l'ennemi avec succès, mais qui ne put jamais l'écraser. Il mourut dans la 4.e lune de 797, et fut remplacé par son ancien adjoint *Tamoura* (3), ou *Tamoura maro* (4). C'est le même que Kæmpfer nomme *Tamabar*. Dans la 11.e lune de la même année, celui-ci marcha contre les barbares de Wo siou, et défit leur grand général. L'année suivante, l'ennemi se tint tranquille; mais, en 799, *Tamoura* fit une nou-

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(1) 賊ブク夷イ州シウ奥アウ

(2) 美ミ佐サ古コ

(3) 村ムラ田タ

(4) 呂ロ麻マ村ムラ田タ

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velle expédition contre eux. La guerre avec ces barbares ne finit qu'en 802, par l'occupation de toute la province de Wo siou. *Tamoura* y bâtit *Isawa*, ville fortifiée, et retourna à la cour, où il fut présenté en grande cérémonie au daïri (1).

Dans d'autres ouvrages japonais que j'ai pu consulter, les *Wo siou i boukou* sont appelés *Ta ï* (2), ou barbares orientaux.

Vocabulaire de la langue coréenne.

La presqu'île de Corée, en chinois *Kao li* ou *Tchhao sian*, est séparée du pays des Mandchou par la haute chaîne du *Tchhang pe chan*, ou de la grande montagne blanche, couverte de neiges perpétuelles. Elle est habitée actuellement par un mélange de plusieurs peuples, parmi lesquels le dominant descend d'une nation de l'Asie moyenne qui, depuis long-temps, a disparu de son ancienne patrie; celle-ci, située au nord du Tchy li, province chinoise, comprenait le Liao toung et s'étendait jusqu'au cours supérieur du fleuve appelé actuellement *Sounggari oula*, par les Mandchoux. Les ancêtres des Coréens formaient une souche de peuples différente de tous leurs voisins, Chinois, Tougouses, Mandchoux et Mongols; ils sont connus dans l'histoire de la Chine sous le nom de

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(1) *Nipon oo dai itsi ran*, vol. II, fol. 32 et suiv.

(2) 夷 イ 東 ト

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Sian pi (*Sœnbi*). C'est encore le même nom que les Coréens se donnent à eux-mêmes, et sous lequel ils sont connus des Japonais. Un autre nom de ce peuple est celui de *Kirin* ou *Ghirin*, qu'il a laissé à la partie supérieure du *Sounggari oula*, en quittant ses bords.

Anciennement, la partie méridionale de la Corée était habitée par un peuple nommé *Han*. Il se partageait en trois branches, *Ma han*, *Pian han* et *Chin han*, que les Chinois comprirent sous la dénomination des *San han*, ou des *trois Han*. Il paraît qu'ils parlaient une langue différente de celle des *Kirin*, ou Coréens septentrionaux, desquels nous venons de parler: ils ressemblaient aux Japonais, tant par leur extérieur que par leurs mœurs et leurs usages. Ce fut dans la première moitié du III.e siècle que la moitié septentrionale de la presqu'île fut occupée par les *Kirin*, appelés alors par les Chinois *Kao-li* et *Kaokiu li*, et en japonais *Koma* ou *Kokouri*. Quelques siècles avant la fondation du royaume de *Kao li*, ou l'an 18 avant J. C., il s'était formé dans le sud-ouest de la Corée et dans l'ancien pays des *Pian han* et *Ma han*, un autre état nommé en chinois *Pe tsi*, et en japonais *Fakousaï* ou *Koutara*, dont les rois tiraient aussi leur origine du pays de *Fou yu*, pays de ceux de *Kao li*, situé sur les bords du *Sounggari oula* supérieur. Ce royaume avait été très puissant pendant quelque temps; cependant il fut soumis en 660 par la dynastie chinoise des Thang.

Un autre royaume, situé dans la partie sud-est de

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la presqu'île et dans l'ancien pays des *Chin han*, fut celui de *Sin lo*, *Szu lo* ou *Szu lou*, en japonais *Siraki*. Il est plus ancien que le précédent; car il fut fondé, l'an 57 avant notre ère, par un prince venu par mer du pays de *Ma han*. Au milieu du troisième siècle après J. C., ce royaume fut subjugué par les Japonais, desquels il avait déjà été tributaire; ceux-ci étendirent ensuite leurs conquêtes sur d'autres parties de la Corée. Une reine de *Sin lo* attaqua, vers 643, le *Pe tsi* et les *Kao li*, fit une alliance avec les Chinois, et remporta de grandes victoires. La dynastie de ces rois finit en 934. Ce fut vers cette époque que toute la péninsule fut derechef soumise par une dynastie nouvelle de rois de *Kao li*, dont le fondateur chassa du pays les Chinois qui en occupaient depuis longtemps la partie septentrionale, et soumit les royaumes de *Sin lo* et de *Pe tsi*. Il paraît que depuis ce temps la fusion des races des Sian pi et des Han, ou anciens aborigènes de la Corée méridionale, est devenue complète; il en est résulté la nation coréenne telle qu'elle existe de nos jours.

Quant à la langue de ce peuple, elle est mêlée de beaucoup de mots chinois, absolument comme la japonaise; mais elle n'offre aucune ressemblance avec cette dernière, comme on peut s'en convaincre par le petit vocabulaire que je donne ici. Il est extrait de livres chinois et japonais, ainsi que d'un ouvrage de médecine imprimé dans le pays même. Les mots d'origine chinoise y sont imprimés en lettres romaines.

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Ail	*Mannal.*
Ailun	*Nu-pan.*
An	Niän.
Ane	*Nele.*
Arbre	*Nan.*
Arc	*Fari.*
Arc-en-ciel	*Lou-khiao.*
Argent	Gun, un.
Aujourd'hui	*Ounaï.*
Automne	*Ka-al.*
Barbe	*Chuom.*
Bas (*humilis*)	*Naï-tse.*
Bateau	*Paï.*
Beau, bon	*Djao-hiun.*
Blanc	*Han, khein.*
Bleu	Thsing.
Bœuf	*Tsio, choï.*
Boire	*Mache.*
Bon	*Pen-tao.*
Bonnet	*Kat.*
Bouche	*Yip, yaïp.*
Bouleau	*Mos.*
Bride	Pi.
Brouillard	Moung.
Chameau	*Yak, yaktaï.*
Champ cultivé	Thian.
Chanvre	*Sampnï.*
Chat	*Kôi.*
Chaud	*Niken.*
Cheval	*Mal, môl* (chîn. *ma*)—*môlhôt*, chevaux.
Cheveux	*Mouri, bodï.*
Chien	*Kaï, kahi.*
Ciel.	*Hannel.*
Cochon	*Tôt, taïyi.*
Cœur	Sin.
Coq	*Kouleï, sektârk.*
Corne	*Sbel.*
Couteau	*Ko, kot.*
Cuivre	*Dzi*, thoung.
Cygne	*Dzen-i.*
Demain	*Odzai.*
Démon	*Totshawi.*
Dent	*Ni, yi.*
Dieu	*Pontchaa, khoï ta.*
Doigt	*Sokora.*
Dormir	*Kïï-tsin.*
Dos	*Thoui-ma-mo.*
Eau-de-vie	*Sour.*
Étain	*Nap.*
Étoile	*Piar, perou, kourome.*
Excrémens	*Malenstong.*
Femme	*Kaksi, kagip.*
Fer	*Sôï.*
Feu	*Pol, poul.*
Fil de soie.	*Megouso.*
Fils	*Ator, ater, aïkie.*
Filet	*Sou, sout.*
Fille	*Han-in.*
Flèche	*Farou-taï* (V. Arc).
Forêt	Lin.
Frère aîné	Tchang kouon.
—— cadet	*Hegi.*
Frère	*Assi, liao-eul.*
Froid	*Chiken.*
Gingembre	Seng-kang.
Glace	*Lem, olon.*
Grand	*Heken.*
Grêle	*Houo, moulouï.*
Grenouille	*Altsangi.*
Habit	*Osou.*
Haut	*Nopen.*
Hache	*Oudzoukaï.*
Herbe	*Sot, chou.*
Hiver	*Kie-âl, doung.*

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Homme (*vir*)	*Chanan, sana.*
Homme (*homo*)	*Sáram*, jin.
Jaune	*Noulou, nalun.*
Jonc	*Taï.*
Jour	*Dzdï*, yang si.
Joue	*Spam.*
Lait	*Kchis.*
Langue	*Hie, tchaï.*
Loup	*Ilheï.*
Lune	*Tdl, orou, tareme.*
Main	*Soan, sone, son.*
Maison	*Tsibou.*
Mari	*Cha-houi.*
Marmite (grande)	*Kiikou.*
Matin	*Odzan, odzaï.*
Mer	*Ta*, hai, *khatagou.*
Mère	*Oyoumi, liao pi.*
Miroir	*Yourei-mano.*
Mont	*Moyé.*
Mouche	Ing.
Mouton	Yang.
Neige	*Nouan, noun.*
Nez	*Kô, katse.*
Noir	*K'homen*, he.
Non	*Nang-li.*
Nuit	*Pami.*
Nuage	*Kourumi, kiourou.*
Œil	*Noun, nouon, doun.*
Œuf	*Al.*
Oie	*Keyou.*
Oiseau	*Dziotan.*
Ongle	*Thob.*
Or	*Nalung, keoun.*
Oreille	*Koui.*
Ours	*Kom.*
Pantalon	*Tchoungai.*
Papier	*Tchou.*
Peau	*Kotchi.*
Pénis	Em-king.
Perle	*Abachi tsu-liaobi.*
Petit	*Houken.*
Peu	*Onaï.*
Pied	*Pal.*
Pierre	*Thol.*
Pigeon	*Ifoutsi, pietholi.*
Pipe à fumer	*Diouton.*
Pluie	*Pit, piui.*
Plomb	Yep.
Poisson	*Koki, kouki.*
Poivre	Goutsio.
Poule	*Tdrk, em-tdrk.*
Poux	*Kiu, ni.*
Printemps	*Djeng, ouyl*, tchun.
Profond	*Kilhin.*
Renard	*Yee.*
Riz	*Yanseik, pisar, phousa.*
Rosée blanche	*Sor.*
Rouge	*Pelken*, djin-houng.
Sel	*So.*
Selle	*Wy-ngam.*
Serpent	*Paiyam*, san-mousoui.
Sœur aînée	*Liao tsou.*
Sœur cadette	*Nai-moui.*
Soie	*Sir, peïdan.*
Soir	*Djennay*, goumou.
Soleil	*Heng, hai, ha, irou.*
Sommeil	*Kii tsin.*
Soufre	Liu-heang.

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Source	*Kotsan.*	Tigre	*Pom.*
Sourcil	*Noun-chip.*	Urine	*Odzom.*
Souris	*Dzouĕ*	Vache	*Sio.*
Sous	*Ti.*	Vague	*Korou, kor.*
Sur	*Nam.*	Vent	*Paran, phouran*
Sur	*Ting.*	Ventre	*Pai.*
Tabac	*Damai, tampako*	Viande	*Koki.*
Terre	*Khli, khoulou, mout.*	Vieux	*Taokin.*
		Visage	*Naitchi.*
Tête	*Mati, taikh, won*	Voleur	*Pho-eui, phor.*
Tonnerre	*Fanorouta.*		
Tortue	*Thouan, namcheng.*		

Les Coréens ont plusieurs séries de nombres, et ils se servent aussi des nombres chinois en ajoutant quelques syllabes à la fin.

Un	*Honna*	*Yagnir.*
Deux	*Toul, toue*	*Tourgy.*
Trois	*Soui, seurwe*	*Soksam.*
Quatre	*Toui, deouye*	*Dokso.*
Cinq	*Tasso, tasset*	*Tasseto.*
Six	*Yosso, yosset*	*Yoselyone.*
Sept	*Dzirgop, yirgop*	*Yeroptchil.*
Huit	*Yoderp, yodorp*	*Yaderpal.*
Neuf	*Ahob, agob*	*Ahopkon.*
Dix	*Yer, yar*	*Yorchib.*
Vingt	*Somer.*	
Trente	*Chierri, siergan.*	
Quarante	*Mahan.*	
Cinquante	*Swin.*	
Soixante	*Yégou, yeswin.*	
Soixante dix	*Yirgoun, hierigoun.*	
Quatre vingt	*Yader, yadarn.*	
Quatre-vingt-dix.	*Ahan, hahan.*	
Cent	*Yir-peik*	*Yir-pee.*
Mille	*Yir-then*	*Yir-tsien*
Dix mille	*Yir-mam*	*Yir-ôk.*

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Les noms des dix premières lunaisons sont chinois, d'après la prononciation particulière des Coréens.

	CORÉEN.	CHINOIS.
1.re lune	Tchong *wor*	(*Tchûng yue.*)
2.e	Yie *wor*	(*Eul yue.*)
3.e	Sam *wor*	(*San yue.*)
4.e	Sô *wor*	(*Szu yue.*)
5.e	O *wor*	(*Ou yue.*)
6.e	Lou *wor*	(*Lou yue.*)
7.e	Tseir *wor*	(*Thsy yue.*)
8.e	Par *wor*	(*Pa yue.*)
9.e	Kou *wor*	(*Kieou yue.*)
10.e	Sie *wur*	(*Chy yue.*)
11.e	*Tongseiter.*	
12.e	*Sutter.*	

Explication de la Planche.

On a mis dans cette planche cinq syllabaires japonais en regard. Les colonnes perpendiculaires se suivent à l'européenne de gauche à droite.

I.re colonne *Man yô kana*, en caractères chinois droits.
II.e ——— *Man yô kana*, en caractères chinois cursifs.
III.e ——— *Yamato kana.*
IV.e ——— Syllabaire de *Ziak so.*
V.e ——— Syllabaire *fira kana.*

Les signes des quatre dernières séries dérivent en général de ceux de la première, ou des caractères chinois droits. On a eu soin de placer à coté de ceux qui sont d'une origine différente, le caractère chinois dont ils ne sont que des abréviations plus ou moins fortes. Le dernier compartiment de la planche montre le syllabaire *kata kana* et les lettres chinoises dont ses signes sont dérivés.

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YLLABAI

l Asiatique, Janvier 1829.

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The Rt Honble the Earl of Munster
with the Author's Compts.

解詩文漢

POESEOS SINENSIS COMMENTARII.

ON THE

POETRY OF THE CHINESE,

(FROM THE ROYAL ASIATIC TRANSACTIONS)

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

TRANSLATIONS & DETACHED PIECES.

By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, F.R.S. &c.

PRESIDENT FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN CHINA.

MACAO, CHINA.

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Several applications for the Treatise on Poetry, which could not be supplied in this country, led to the reprint (without publication) of a limited number of copies: and the unusual facilities, afforded by the possession of a fount of Chinese types, occasioned some additions being made at the close of the original work. The remaining pieces, which complete the volume, were included as having, all of them, some connection with China.

Macao,
20th. Febv. 1834.

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漢文詩解

ON THE POETRY OF CHINESE.

"*Quærere cœpit*
Quid ——————— *utile ferrent:*
Tentavit, quoque, rem si dignè vertere posset."

In the arrangement of our subject, it may perhaps be useful to preserve so much regard to method, as to treat of it separately, under the two following heads:

Part. I. Versification, or the particular rules which prevail in the mere construction of lines, couplets, and stanzas; and the sources whence these derive their melody and rythm.

Part. II. A general view of the style and spirit of Chinese poetry, the character of its imagery and sentiment, and the extent to which it seems to admit of a precise classification, relatively to the divisions and nomenclature adopted in European literature.

To such as should find the fist portion of our treatise dry and technical in its details, the second may possibly

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prove more attractive: but the order of discussion could hardly be inverted with propriety.

PART 1.

In Chinese versification, the following are the circumstances which seem chiefly to demand our notice: 1. The nature of the sounds of which the spoken language consists, and the fitness of this for metrical composition. 2. The variation of certain tones, or accents, as prescribed by rule. 3. The use of poetical numbers, or measure. 4. The observance of a regular cæsural pause, about the middle of each verse. 5. The use of terminal rhymes. 6. The rythmical effect produced by the *parallelism* of couplets, which will be explained in its proper place.

1. Of the sounds of the spoken language. The attention of curious persons may perhaps be excited to ascertain, what powers of melody can be possessed by a system of speech, which has been represented to contain merely about four hundred *monosyllabic* sounds. They may naturally enough imagine, that Chinese poetry must, in point of euphony, rank with those defective verses censured by our own great poet.

"Where ten low words oft creep in one dull nine."

Low words, of any length, are certainly out of place in poetry: but that an English verse is much the worse for

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consisting of ten monosyllables, does not so clearly appear: and Pope's own poems abound in monosyllabic lines, as may be proved by the slightest examination. A few instances occur even of *couplets* so distinguished

> 'Ah, if she lend not arms, as well as rules,
> What can she more than tell us we are fools!'
> —'Talk what you will of taste, my friend, you'll find
> Two of a face, as soon as of a mind.'
> '—There are who have not—and, thank heav'n, there are
> Who, if they have not, think not worth their care.'

A summary disposal of the question, by assuming, at once, that it is a case in which melody is unattainable, has to be reconciled with the obvious fact, that the Chinese take a passionate delight in their poetry. Is it likely that so large a portion of the human race should have persisted in the enthusiastic cultivation of an art, which is essentially incapable of possessing that very charm, which every where else forms a main element of its attractiveness? * It has pretty generally gone abroad, that *all* the Chinese words are strictly mo-

* A writer of the *Mémoires sur les Chinois* asserts, that their poetry is susceptible of even imitative harmony, and this is no doubt true: but the instance which he adduces may perhaps make the reader smile. "On vante," says he, "l'harmonie imitative d'Homère. Elle est très-familière à la poésie Chinoise: au lieu de dire, par exemple, on entend le bruit des tambours, le Chiking dit, 'On entend le *tang-tang* des tambours.' Cette citation n'est pas des plus heureuses, mais c'est la seule qui me vienne."

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nosyllabic—which only proves that opinions, which nobody is particularly concerned in correcting, will sometimes pass current for a surprising length of time.—Perhaps the circumstance of every word filling the same space in the page, has assisted to perpetuate the notion. It is the business of the present treatise, however, to state all that can fairly be said in favour of its subject; and, with the concurrent opinion of Dr. Morrison, we will endeavour to produce facts, and institute comparisons, which may tend to prove that a considerable portion of the Chinese words are not *absolutely* monosyllabic.

Some of these, if expressed by the powers of the English alphabet, are written *hcăe, keŭen, heŭĕ, leăou*—every vowel being distinctly pronounced,—and others cannot be properly expressed, except with the direct use of the diæresis, as *lëen, l'hëen, këĕ*, &c. Now, with respect to the latter of these, if the necessity for using such a mark were not, of itself, sufficient to prove that they are something more than mere monosyllables, the metrical examples of another language might serve to settle the point.

"Their *fluïd* bodies half dissolv'd in light"—
"Like some gaunt *lïon* in his gloomy lair."

Any person who has been in the habit of hearing the Chinese pronounce their own language, knows that *lëen, sëen*, &c. are quite as dissyllabic as *lion, fluid*, and such other words, wherein no consonant intervenes between the two syllables.

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Similar examples, however, are by no means so abundant in our harsh modern languages, especially those of Germanic extraction, as in Latin and Greek, where almost every line of poetry teems with such vowel sounds; and where (at least in the latter) we constantly meet with *three* successive vowels, forming as many separate syllables—the very circumstance which constitutes the ground of its superior melody.

But let it be objected, and let us admit for a moment (what in fact is not true), that in Chinese every word is pronounced *in the same time*, and therefore the above distinction signifies little. Does it, with reference to a sister art, make no difference in its *music*, whether two or three notes be struck in the same measured time—or only one? What, but something very similar to this, was the Greek and Roman practice, as far as we can understand it, of making two short syllables exactly equivalent to a long one, and pronouncing them in the same time. That such matters are not totally indifferent, might be proved by the trite example from Virgil—the well-known verse, descriptive of an eager and restless horse, which derives its imitative character from the rapid succession of dactyls; and again, by the opposite artifice, used by the same poet in painting the blinded giant, where the heavy spondaic measure of the line, joined to the redundant terminal syllables, is equally expressive in another way. The discussion of this point, however, is rendered somewhat superfluous by the plain fact, that all Chinese words are *not*

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pronounced in the same time. Of what are called the "four tones," it is the professed business of the *third* to prolong, and of the *fourth* to shorten them.

The truth seems to be, that the language of China abounds in diphthongal at least, if not in triphthongal sounds, which contribute, when found blended with others that are more strictly monosyllabic, to give to its verse a certain share of varied euphony.

Not only, however, do *vowel* sounds so extensively prevail in the language of which we treat, but the few *consonants* that are to be found in it are, almost without exception, free from the reproach of harshness. There is no terminal consonat whatever, except *n* and its nasal *ng*; † and the initials are only *Ch*—*F*—*G* hard—*H* (if it may be called a consonant)—*J*, soft as in French—*K*—*L*—*M*—*N*—*P*—*S*—*Sz*—*Sh*—*T*—*Th*—*Ts*—and *Tsz*. Of these, *Tsz*, and if you please *Ts*, are the only sounds which approach to the character of harshness. The Chinese find it no easy matter to pronounce English words; but Englishmen meet with little difficulty in pronouncing theirs—the natural inference from which is, that our own language, though certainly more varied, is the harsher of the two.

We shall presently see that they possess the usual means,

† It must be kept in mind, that we here treat of the dialect of literature, and of educated persons. In the south of the empire, words end in *k* and *t*; but provincial corruptions and vulgarisms form no part of the subject.

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employed by other nations, to give harmony and rythmical effect to their verse: but it may not be unimportant first to shew, that the native and original qualities of the language are such, as not to unsuit it altogether to the purposes of melodious composition,—that the raw material is not unfitted for the manufacture. A notion seems to have existed, that the whole merit of Chinese poetry lay in some curious and fanciful selection of the characters, with a reference to their component parts. As a medium for the communication of ideas, the written language certainly differs from alphabetic systems: but, after all, the characters are the *means* only, and not the *end*. The melody of the sound—the harmony of the structure—and the justness of the sentiment, or beauty of the imagery—constitute, as they do everywhere else, the merits of poetical composition.

2. Such being the natural qualifications of the Chinese language, considered in its *oral* capacity, for poetry—it derives cadence and modulation from the artifical use of the tones, or accents; which appear, however, to have been originally adopted for a very different purpose, and to have owed their existence, rather to the necessity of *perspicuity in speech*, than of *melody in verse*. It may easily be imagined, that there a whole spoken language consists of not more than about four hundred words of different sounds, there would be great danger of two interlocutors misunderstanding each other, from the unavoidable use of the *equivoque*; and hence the necessity for the tones, or accents, consisting of what may, in sufficient

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conformity with the meaning of their original names, be styled the *even* or *natural*, the *acute*, the *grave*, and the *short*. In point of fact, the first is no accent at all, but rather a negative quality—the absence of all marked intonations; and, accordingly, the Chinese themselves call it *ping*, 'even or smooth,' while the three others they class together, under the general name of *tsé*, 'deflected,'—that is, deflected from the *natural* tone. These last are, in regular poetical composition, used indifferently for each other; they are considered as being opposed to, and required in verse to be alternated with, the even-toned or unaccented words. It would be quite unprofitable to dwell here upon their minute distinctions, or to endeavour to give particular descriptions of them, because nothing but the mouth of a native can illustrate them properly: they are really—*vox et præterea nihil*, and have already been as fully noticed, as such a subject admitted of, by several writers on Chinese grammar. Suffice it then to say, that by their use the original sounds of the language are varied or multiplied about fourfold, and a great accession made to its fitness for metrical composition. Of a species of technicality which admits so ill of illustration on paper, it is enough to observe, that the words (we shall presently see that these are equivalent to *feet* in other languages) which answer to the *even* numbers in each line,—the second, fourth, sixth, according to the length of the verse,—together with the last word of all—are, in regular poetry,

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the subjects of attention with regard to the *alternate*-position of the tones called 'natural,' and 'deflected.' The rule for placing them seems to have variety, or the avoiding of a too frequent recurrence of the same tone, for its principal object. Their attention to this point goes beyond the single lines, and extends to the couplets: for whatever the intonation of the second, fourth, or sixth words in the first line may be,—whether natural or deflected,—that of the corresponding words in the next line is required to be the opposite. M. Freret, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, fell into a great error, in asserting that 'les Chinois n'ont jamais connu la versification cadencée par l'arrangement de ces tons musicaux: leur poésie a seulement été consacrée par le nombre des syllabes, et dans la suite on a y ajouté la rime.' Even the most irregular species of Chinese verse, called *Tsze*, is to a certain degree regulated by the tones, though in a different manner from the foregoing.

3. The next source of harmony that we have to notice, is the use of poetical numbers. Every word of Chinese poetry, instead of being regarded as a mere syllable, may more properly be considered as corresponding to a metrical foot in other languages. It has already been shewn, that a considerable portion are really dissyllabic—and all of them are pronounced, in the recital of verse, with an emphasis and prolongation of the voice, very different from the manner in which we slur over the unaccented portion of our syllables.

To begin with the smallest number of words that form a

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measured line in Chinese, we sometimes meet with so few as *three*, repeated like a kind of 'refrain' in popular songs. This short measure also constitutes occasionally a species of chime for the inculcation of moral maxims; and it was, no doubt, for the similar purpose of *assisting the memory*, that it has been adopted in the composition of the *San tsze king*, or "Trimetrical Classic"—a work evincing considerable ingenuity, though intended for the humble purpose of conveying to youth the rudiments of general knowledge. In China, as elsewhere, persons of high attainments occasionally think it worth their while to devote their talents to the promotion of the great business of education. The following lines are taken, as a specimen of this particular kind of verse, from that portion of the above work, in which the regular succession of all the dynasties, and most celebrated emperors, is turned into shyme; and it may perhaps remind the English reader of a well known song, colled the "Chapter of Kings."

TRIMETERS.

高祖興　至孝平　光武興　四百年　魏蜀吳　號三國

漢業建　王莽慕　漢鼎獻　於東遷　終爲晉　爭漢兩

Kaou-tsoo hing—Hang nĕĕ kĕen,
Che Heaou-ping—Wong-mang tsuon:
Kwong-woo hing—Wei Tung-Han;
Sze pih nĕen—Chung yu Hëen:
Wei, Shuh, Woo—Tseng Han ting,
Haou Sän-Kwŏ—Heih teang Tsin.

"Kaou-tsoo arose—And the race of Hän was established,
Until the reign of Heaou-ping—When Wong-mang usurped the empire:
Kwong-woo arose—And established the Eastern family of Hän:
After enduring four hundred years—The Hän ended with Hëen-te:
Wei, Shŭh, and Woo—Contended together for the empire of Hän,
They were called the THREE NATIONS—And continued till the rise of the two dynasties Tsin.

The line of *four* words is the shortest that seems ever so have been used in the higher species of composition. It constitutes the chief part of the measure of the sacred book of odes, called *Sheeking*, the oldest, poetical work in China. * There, however, the measure of some pieces is altogether irregular, varying from three, to seven or eight words in a line. Poetry, in most countries, begins with being the vehicle of religion and morality, and the first record of historical

* For two of the most regular odes of this collection, vide infra, Part II.

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facts. Venerated at first as the language of wisdom or inspiration, it is at length cultivated as a pleasurable art, and never fails to improve in harmony, however it may degenerate in other points, with the progress of time. "Il faut distinguer dans la poësie," says Racine, "ce qui vient de la *nature*, et ce qui est ajoûté par l'*art*: la nature inspire d'abord la rapidité du style, et la hardiesse des figures; l'art vient ensuite, et pour rendre le style poëtique encore plus rapide, et en même tems plus harmonieux, le resserre dans les bornes ètroites de la versification. La poësie naissante n'a point du connoître cet esclavage, puisque les règles de l'art ne s'établissent qu'avec le tems et la reflection." The earliest Chinese poetry, as we find it in the Sheeking, appears certainly to have made use of the embellishments of both measure and rhyme, but with a degree of irregularity very different from the polish of modern versification. The lines are occasionally of all lengths; and the rhyme seems to be subject to little rule. It will occasionally occur for six or eight consecutive verses, and there will sometimes be none at all. For the same reason that Pope is more harmonious than Chaucer or Donne, Boileau or Racine than Ronsard, Virgil or Tibullus than old Ennius.

——"*Sic korridus ille*
Defluxit numerus"——

so the poetry of China, from the Tāng dynasty (when this art attained its highest perfection) down to the present time,

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is in point of *mere versification*, a vast improvement on the Sheeking. It would be strange indeed, if this people were an exception to a rule so general; if an art, in which they took so much delight, had not improved by cultivation, or were, at the present day, devoid of so essential a qualification as the harmony of numbers. The old measure of four words or feet, is now seldom adopted, being from its shortness unsusceptible of much melody. At the same time it does occasionally occur, chiefly for moral and didactic purposes; and the following may be taken as a specimen.—They are some lines of the Budhists, or quietists.

TETRAMETERS.

靈哉一點
不擾不驚
無思無慮
至聖至明
天理昭著
善性根成
一雜於僞
五體摧傾

Ling tsae yih tëen—Puh jaou, puh king;
Woo sze, woo leu—Che shing, che ming:
T'hëen le chaou choo—Shen sing keu ching:
Yit tsă yu wei—Woo tee tsuy king.

"When the heart is enlightened by a spark of the æthereal intelligence,
There is neither perturbation, nor alarm;
There is neither thought, nor anxiety;
But all is moral perfection, and the complète radiance of truth:

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Where the heavenly principle pours its light,
The root of a virtuous disposition is perfected:
But once mingling with human frailty,
The whole man will be subdued and overturned."

The improved system of versification consists in lines of *five* words or feet, as will as in the longer and still superior measure of *seven*. These now constitute what are properly called *Shee*, or regular poems, and we give an example of each in this place, though many others will appear in the sequel.

PENTAMETERS.

回	流	山	僧	且	聊	追	久
首	連	觀	對	憩	尋	隨	客
晚	忘	不	空	倦	行	到	初
堂	日	改	饒	遊	樂	古	歸
鐘	暮	容	舌	踪	境	榕	里

Kew kih tsoo kwei le,
Chuy suy taou Koo-yoong;
Leaou tsin hing lŏ king,
Tseay kee kouen yew tsoong.
Seng tuy koong jaou shĕ;
Shan kwon puh kae yoong.
Kew lĕen wong jĕ ntòo,
Hwuy show man t'hing choong.

"When my ancient guest first returns to our neighbourhood,

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I accompany him to the monastery Koo-yoong:
We stroll along together, in search of pleasant walks,
And then rest our weary footsteps within:
The priests sit opposite, indulging their tongues in leisure talk,
—We look at the distant hills, and remark the unchanging
features of nature.
Carried on by the stream of converse, we forget the day is [closing,
But at last, turning our heads homeward, we listen to the
vesper bell."

HEPTAMETERS.

五峰如指擧相連
撐起炎州半壁天
夜盥銀河摘星斗
朝探碧落弄雲烟
雨餘玉笋空中現
月出明珠掌上懸
疑是巨靈伸一臂
遙從海外數中原

Woo foong, ju che, tsuy, seang lëen,
Chong he Yen-chow, pwan peih t'hëen:
Yay yu yin ho tsih sing lów,
Chaou tan peih lŏ, loong yun yen:
Yŭ yu, joo seun, koong choong hëen,
Yuĕ chŭ, ming choo chang shang heuen:
Ee she Kew-ling shin yih peih,
Yaou tsoong hae wae soo Choong-yuen.

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"See the five variegated peaks of yon mountain, connected like
the fingers of the hand,
And rising up from the south, as a wall midway to heaven:
At night, it would pluck, from the inverted, concave the stars
of the milky way,
During the day, it explores the zenith, and plays with the
clouds:
The rain has ceased—and the shining summits are apparent in
the void expanse;
The moon is up—and looks like a bright pearl over the
expanded palm:
One might imagine that the Great Spirit had stretched forth
an arm,
From afar—from beyond the sea,—and was numbering the
Nations.*

The boldnes of the imagery in the last example is somewhat striking, and the two concluding lines may perhaps serve to redeem it from the reproach of the bathos, to which the simile of the hand might otherwise have exposed it.

Verses containing the number of six, or eight, or more words, form no part of regular poetry in modern times; though they are occasionally found alternated with others, in pieces which do not aspire to regularity of structure, but whose figurative style elevates them above the level of more prose.—Lines of

* China was formerly divided into separate and independent states.

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every length are used in those measured couplets, or sentences in pairs, so nicely balanced both in words and sense, which are adopted in the inculcation of ethical precepts, and of which more will be said hereafter, under the head of *parallelism*.

4. In aid of the effect of metrical quantity, the Chinese possess another rule of versification, well known to Europeans, but which has never yet been noticed with reference to the subject of the present treatise. It may be premised, that no *sentential* pause ever occurs in the middle of a verse; at least, none which could be punctuated with any thing beyond a comma in English. Every line is complete within itself; there is nothing of what the French call *enjambement*. But while a reference to written poetry easily establishes this point, the writer of the present observations thought he could plainly perceive, in the correct recital of the longer measures by natives, a very marked *cæsural* pause near the middle of the lines. Repeated trial tended to shew, that in verses of *seven* words, the cæsura was invariably after the fourth—and in those of *five*, after the second word. With a view to being quite clear upon this subject, reference was made to a gentleman, whose profound knowledge of the language renders him a very competent judge in all matters connected with it. He was soon persuaded of the existence of the fact; and a properly qualified native, being summoned into the room, was requested to read out the longer measures of verse in a slow and deliberate manner. The result was, that the cæsura fell exactly in the places above-mentioned, being more

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strongly marked in some lines than in others, but still unchangeable with regard to *position*—and the native himself (who, by the way was a *Sewtsae*, *i. e.* had taken his degree) admitted that such was the case. While the long measures admit of, and in some degree require, this pause of the voice, all lines which contain less than five words appear, by reason of their shortness, to be entirely devoid of it.

The existence of the cæsural pause in a particular part of each verse might, of itself, be considered as deserving of notice in a treatise of this nature: but the farther connexion that is has with the structure of the verse makes it still more worthy of attention. The language of China is in a great measure composed of what, for want of a better expression, we will call "compound terms," consisting of two words or characters, which may be a noun with its adjective, a verb with its adverb, two nouns united—and a great many other grammatical combinations of the kind. These are always pronounced together,—as much so as parts of the same compound word in other languages. In a verse of *seven* words, the cæsural pause being after the *fourth*, the first section of the line generally * consists of two of these compound terms. The *fourth* and *fifth* characters

* *Generally*, because it is not meant to be asserted that Chinese verses are *always*, or *entirely* composed of such terms: they frequently contain a number of single characters, or simple terms; but whenever the others are used, their position in the verse is invariably as above stated.

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can never be coupled in this manner, because the pause cannot take place in the middle of a compound term—but it must be the *first* and *second*, the *third* and *fourth*, which are thus related. This being the case with regard to the *first* section of the verse, the *last*, which contains three characters, is commonly a compound term, with the addition of a single word, which may either precede or come after it. But as this is a subject which may best be illustrated by examples, here follow some lines of *seven* words, in which the verbal construction can be observed—together with the place of the cæsural pause after the fourth word, as far as this may be shewn without actual recital.

怎不美名　偷尋何世
得是玉花　個些須事
梅一不不　閒樂苦忙
花番磨放　時處苦忙
撲寒不不　誦酌用無
鼻徹生生　首杯心了
香骨光芳　詩酒機期

She sze mang-mang—woo leaou ke,
Ho seu koo-koo—yung sin ke:
Tsin seay tŏ choo—chŏ pei tsew,
Tow ko hëen she—soong show she.

Ming hwa puh fang—puh seng fāng,
Mei yu puh mo—puh seng kwāng:

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Puh she yih fan—han chĕ kŭh,
Tseng tih mei hwa—pŏ pe heang.

"The affairs of the world are all hurry and trouble—without end;
Why, then, with bitter anxiety—waste the heart's springs?
Search for some pleasant spot—to pour out a cup of wine,
Steal a leisure hour—to sing the stanzas of an ode!

"The fine flower unblown—exhales no sweets,
The fair gem unpolished—exhibits no radiance;
Were it not that once—the cold penetrated its stem,
How could the plum-blossom—emit such fragrance?"

We next come to the line of *five* words, where the cæsura falls after the *second*. Here the first division of the verse usually constitutes one compound term; and the last three words are subject to the same law as in the longer line. The following are examples.

山看峰行　　人家放廣
色山巒客　　人國之之
無終隨不　　若賀充塞
遠日處知　　共太海乾
近行阪名　　遵平宇坤

Jin jin—jŏ koong tsun,
Kea kwŏ—ho tae ping:
Fang che—choong hae yu,
Kwong che—sih kĕen koen.

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Shan sih—woo yuen kin,
Kan shan—choong jĕ hing:
Foong twan—suy choo kae,
Hing kĭh—puh che ming.

"The whole people—unitedly obeying the laws,
The nation, as a family—will rejoice in peace:
Promulge it—to the extremities of the ocean,
Extend it—to the foundations of the world!

"The tints of the hills—are confounded in their distance,
As the traveller views them—to the end of his daily journey:
The shapes of their peaks and ridges—alter with every change
Until the wanderer—ceases to know their names. [of place,

Our English verse of ten syllables derives great advantage from the power of varying its effect, without any prejudice to its melody, by occasionally shifting the place of the cæsura,—unlike the Chinese, where it is fixed and immoveable. In this, however, the latter bears some resemblance to the French alexandrine, always divided into hemistiches by the cæsural pause, with which the sentential pause is most commonly coincident *—as well as to that law of the Latin hexameter, which seems to demand, that in a line *perfectly* euphonic, the cæsura should fall after the first syllable of the third foot. †

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* 'Que toujours dans vos vers — le sens coupant les mots,
Suspende l'hemistiche—en marque le repos.'
BOIL. *Art Poét.*

† 'Purpureus veluti — cùm flos, succisus aratro,
Languescit moriens—lassove papavera collo
Demisere caput — pluviâ cum forté gravantur.'

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5. Of rhymes, it is chiefly to be observed, that they occur, in regular poetry, at the end of the alternate verses which answer to the even numbers,—that is, at the termination of every *second verse*. The first one of all frequently gives the rhyme to the whole stanza; but the rest of the uneven-numbered lines seem subject to no rule, and end with any sounds indifferently. The length of the stanza is determined by the recurrence of the same rhyme, and, in a poem of any continuity, it is generally of four lines only—that is, a quatrain, whose second and fourth lines rhyme together; but occasionally it consists of eight verses, of which four have the same ending. Stanzas, however, or rather short pieces of poetry, are very common of twelve, and even sixteen lines, some of which might, with no great impropriety, be assimilated to what we call sonnets. In the stanza of four lines, it cannot be objected that the rhyme is too frequent; and even in that of eight, it should be considered, that only the second line of every couplet possesses the rhyme; while the intermediate ones are blank, and thus afford a relief to the ear. In our own Spencerian stanza, consisting of nine lines, no less than four of them have the same ending, that is, the second, fourth, fifth, and seventh—while three others likewise rhyme together, the sixth, eighth, and ninth. The Chinese, however, do not seem to have a very nice ear for the perception of true rhymes; and this inaccuracy may partly

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arise from their not possessing such precise symbols, or marks of sound, as our alphabetic letters. In the odes of the Shee-king, as the lines and stanzas are occasionally extremely irregular in their length and general structure — "numeri lege soluti"—so the rhymes appear to be under no strict regulation. This seeming neglect may partly result from a change of pronunciation: but there can be little doubt that the subjection of rhyme to more rigid laws was, as well as the other improvements in versification, introduced in the general advancement of the art, under the Tāng dynasty.

The following specimen affords an example of the rhymes in two stanzas of eight lines each.

三冬晴暖久
一雨正相宜
漠漠沉山閣
輕輕點石池
春風搖蕩日
萬物發生時
爲向農人說
西疇事莫遲

柳色未遮徑
桃花已滿林
物猶憐氣候
吾豈忘天心
隱几人空老
乘時力未任
柴門對滴瀝
行坐一沉吟

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STANZA I.

San-tung tsing-nwan kew,
*Yih-yu' ching seang-*ee:
Mo-mo chin shang-hŏ,
*King-king tëen shih-*che:
Chun foong yaou tang jih,
Wan-wüh fă-seng she:
Wei heang noong-jin shwŏ,
Se-chow sze mo che.

STANZA II.

Lew-sih wei chay king,
Taou-hwa ee mwan lin:
Wüh yew lëen ke how,
*Woo he wong t'hëen-*sin:
Yin ke jin koong-laou,
Shing-she leih wei jin:
Chae-mun tuy tëih-lëih,
*Hing tso yih chin-*yin.

"*Felicitous Rains.*"

"The last month of winter was for the most part clear and mild,
And now at length approach the well-timed showers:
The wide-spread mist has involved yŏn mountain dwelling,
Its dews are slowly filling each rocky hollow:
The vernal winds obscure the clouded sun,
It is the season for all things in nature to germinate:
Let us convey an exhortation to the husbandman,
That he delay not the business of his western fields.

2.

"The green foliage of the willows has not yet shaded the path,
But the peach-blossoms already cover the grove:
Every inanimate thing seems to feel the influence of the season,
Shall I, then, be unmindful of the purposes of heaven?
Like some who lean on their tables, and grow unprofitably old,
Who exert not their strength in the proper time?
—The rain falls in drops before my rude door-way,
As I stroll about, or sit, immersed in such meditations."

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Rhymes, however, are by no means confined to regular verse (of which it is our particular business at present to detail the laws), being very apparent in the following citation, a species of composition called *Tsze*, something between prose and poetry, in which the rhyme is repeated at the end of lines of indeterminate length. The passage is descriptive of a field or bed of chrysanthemums, flowers which the Chinese admire on account of the brilliancy of their colours, and which they display towards winter in large quantities about their houses.

瘦影滿籬疎香
三徑深深淺淺
黃相映露下集
英飢可飡風有
黃色誰堪並正
談到可憐嬾如
新病厭厭開出
秋情性漫言盡
目只閒閒須知
詩酒陶家興

Sow ying mwan le, soo heang san king, ***shin-shin tsëen-tsëen hwong seang*** ying; ***loo hea tseih*** ying; ***ke ko tsan foong; yew hwong sih, shŭey kan*** ping: ***chĭng tan taou ko leen lae joo sin*** ping; ***yen-yen kae chŭ tsew tsing*** sing: ***man yen tsin mŏ chĕ hëen-hëen; seu che she tsew Taou-kea*** hing.

"Their slender shadows fill the enclosure, and a scattered perfume pervades the flower-beds, planted in triple rows: their deeper and lighter tints reflect a yellow light, and the leaves shine varied from beneath the drops of dew: each hungry flowret inhales the passing breeze, as it sheds around its incomparable

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lustre. The gazer sympathizes with the languishing blossoms, bending their heads all faint and delicate: the mournful view awakes in his mind thoughts suitable to autumn. Say not that it is a sight to satiate the eyes of the indifferent beholder—know that such flowers as these once inspired the poet Taou-yuen-ming, * as he indulged his genius amidst verses and wine."

6. The next feature in the construction of Chinese verse is perhaps the most interesting of all, as it presents a striking coincidence with what has been remarked of the poetry of another Asiatic nation. In the preliminary Dissertation on Hebrew Poetry, prefixed to his translation of Isaiah, Bishop Lowth has treated at some length of a peculiar property which he calls *parallelism*. What this is, will be best explained in his own words.

"The correspondence of one verse or line with another, I call parallelism.—When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in sense, or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction, these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases, answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms.—Parallel lines may be reduced to three sorts: parallels *synonymous*, parallels *antithetic*, and parallels *synthetic*."

The *first* kind, Dr. Lowth defines to be those "which correspond one to another by expressing the same sense in

* For some account of *Taou-yuen-ming*, see Mémoires sur les Chinois, tom. iii.

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different, but equivalent terms: when a proposition is delivered, and is immediately repeated, in the whole or in part, the expression being varied, but the sense entirely or nearly the same."

EXAMPLES.

"Because I called, and ye refused;
I stretched out my hand, and no one regarded:
But ye have defeated all my counsel;
And would not incline to my reproof:
I also will laugh at your calamity;
I will mock when your fear cometh."

"Bow thy heavens, O Jehovah, and descend;
Touch the mountains, and they shall smoke:
Dart forth thy lightnings, and scatter them;
Shoot out thine arrows, and consume them."

The reader is furnished below with examples from the Chinese, which will perhaps be considered as answering to the above description of the Hebrew — with this only difference, that the peculiar structure of the language, of which we now treat, generally renders the parallelism much more exact, and therefore much more striking and obvious—as it is usually *word for word*, the one written opposite to the other. The first two lines have a figurative reference to the perfection of a person's moral character.

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白璧無瑕呈至寶
青蓮不染發奇香

心到亂時無是處
情當苦際只思悲

莫嫌地窄園亭小
不怨家貧活計微

Pih peih, woo hea, ching che paou,
Tsing lëen, puh yen, fă k'he heang,

Sin taou lwan she, woo she choo,
Tsing tang koo tse, chĕ sze pei.

Mo hëen te tsih, yuen ting seaou,
Puh yuen kea pin, hwŏ ke wei.

"The white stone, unfractured, ranks as most precious;
The blue lily, unblemished, emits the finest fragrance.

"The heart, when it is harassed, finds no place of rest;
The mind, in the midst of bitterness, thinks only of grief.

"Be not discontented, though your land be narrow, and your garden small;
Be not disturbed, though your family be poor, and your means contracted."

The second kind of parallelism is the *antithetic* "when," according to the definition of Bishop Lowth, "two lines

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correspond with one another by an opposition of terms and sentiments." He observes, with reference to his own subject, that "the degrees of antithesis are various, from an exact contraposition of word to word through the whole sentence, down to a general disparity, with something of a contrariety in the two propositions." It may be remarked, with regard to the Chinese, that the antithesis is commonly perfect, both in sentiments and terms.

It is farther to be observed, that the learned prelate takes most of his examples, under this head, from the Proverbs of Solomon, "where they abound: for this form is peculiarly adapted to that kind of writing, to adages, aphorisms, and detached sentences."

EXAMPLES.

"The memory of the just is a blessing;
But the name of the wicked shall rot."

"There is that scattereth, and still increaseth;
And that is unreasonably sparing, yet groweth poor."

—As relates to the Chinese, the case is precisely the same, and no doubt for the same reason. In going over, by way of experiment, a collection of Maxims* compiled by himself, the writer of this immediately found that a very large portion answered to the foregoing description. For example:

* 8vo. London, 1823.

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慾寡精神爽
思多血氣衰
清貧常樂
濁富多憂
從善如登
從惡如崩

Yŏ kwa, tsing shin shwong;
Sze to, heuĕ ke shwae.

Tsing pin chang lŏ;
Chŏ foo to yew.

Tsoong shen joo teng;
Tsoong gŏ joo peng.

"With few cravings of the heart, the health is flourishing;
With many anxious thoughts, the constitution decays."

"Unsullied poverty is always happy:
Impure wealth brings many sorrows."

"Prosecuting virtue, is like ascending a steep:
Pursuing vice, like rushing down a precipice."

But the antithetic parallel is used not merely to give a force to aphorisms. It appears occasionally, though perhaps somewhat less often, in the course of poetry; and is found to exist in every degree, from the strong mutual opposition of *all* the corresponding words in a couplet, to that of only *some* of them.

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仰 低 富 貧
面 首 貴 寒
空 淚 他 親
長 雙 人 子
嘆 垂 聚 離

Yang mëen, koong chang tan,
Te show, luy shwong chuy:
Foo kwei,—t'ha jin tsou,
Pin han,—tsin tsze le.

"Supinely gazing, now I vent my sighs,
Now, bending down, in tears my sorrow flows;
The wealthy alien claims connubial ties,
The needy kinsman no relation knows!" *

The third sort of parallel, noticed by Dr. Lowth, is what he denominates the *synthetic*, or constructive, where each word and line does not exactly answer to its fellow as either equivalent or opposite in sense: but where there is a marked correspondence and equality in the construction of the lines—"such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative."

EXAMPLES.

"Is such then the fast which I choose?
That a man should afflict his soul for a day?

* The 'Heir in old Age,' page 9.

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Is it, that he should bow down his head like a bulrush;
And spread sackcloth and ashes for his couch?
Shall this be called a fast,
And a day acceptable to Jehovah?"

This is by far the most common species of parallelism with the Chinese. Indeed the two first sorts, already described, are generally accompanied by this last — the correspondence of sense, whether it consist in equivalency or opposition, is almost always attended by correspondence of construction: the latter is often found without the former, while the converse seldom takes place. It pervades their poetry universally, forms its chief characteristic feature, and is the source of a great deal of its artificial beauty. In nearly every specimen produced in the course of this treatise, it may be observed to exist in a more or less marked degree, and unless for the sake of regularity, it would seem almost superfluous to adduce particular examples here. In the romance called *Haoukewchuen*, or the "Fortunate Union," the first of the two following quatrains is introduced, in application to the hero, who is distinguished at once by his bravery and his abilities—in the second example, it will be observed that the words are very nicely balanced.

孤冷膽才　百五得遇
行臉似如　千六一三

不畏全憑騰　李子騎人要有才
畏全憑騰　白龍重出世來
全憑騰　再重出世來了
憑騰　生出世來了
騰　世來了

Koo hing puh wei, tseuen ping tan,
Leng lëen keaou jin, yaou yew tsae;
Tan, sze Tsze-loong choong chŭ she,
Tsae, joo Le-pih tsae seng lae.

Pih, tsëen, wan sze, ying nan leaou,
Woo, lew, shĕ nëen, yoong e lae:
Tĕ yih jĕ hëen, hëen yih jĕ,
Yu san pei yin, yin san pei.

"Thus alone and dauntless he walked—all confident in his courage;
Thus proud and reserved—he must needs possess high talents:
Courage—as if *Tszeloong*, the hero, had re-appeared in the world;
Talents—as though *Lepih*, the poet, had again been born."

"A hundred—a thousand—ten thousand projects are hard to accomplish;
Five times—six times—ten years very soon arrive:
When you have found a day to be idle—be idle for a day;
When you have met with three cups to drink—then drink your three cups!"

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The constructional parallelism of sentences extends to prose composition, and is very frequent in what is called *wun-chang*, or fine writing, which is a measured prose, though not written line beside line, like poetry. Indeed all the three kinds may be met with occasionally in every description of writing that soars above the style of mere conversation or narrative. They do not *alone* constitute poetry, which must have the several other qualifications already mentioned, as measure, rhyme, &c.—but being allied to art and embellishment, they claim verse as their proper province, and are carried there to a greater degree of refinement than elsewhere. The three following prose sentences, in which there is a parallelism throughout, combined with a sort of anti-climax, are introduced chiefly for the sake of noticing a striking coincidence of sentiment, in a quarter where one is not prepared to meet with it, except in the case of the most obvious, simple, and general truths.

上不教中教下教
昂而昂而昂而昂
之善人之善人之善人

Shang pin che jin, puh keaou urh shen;
Chung pin che jin, keaou urh how shen;
Hea pin che jin, keaou urh puh shen.

"The highest order of men (called *Shing*, perfect or inspired) are virtuous, or wise, independently of instruction:—the middle

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class of men (*Hëen*, good or moral) are so after instrution—the lowest order (*Yu*, stupid or worthless) are vicious in spite of instruction."

These three classes are, strange to say, most exactly defined in four lines of the Works and Days of Hesiod—the sentiment could scarcely be more nearly rendered.

"He indeed is the BEST of all men, who of *himself* is wise in all things;
Though he is GOOD, who follows a good instructor:
But he who is neither wise of himself, nor, in listening to another,
Remains mindful of advice—this is the WORTHLESS man."

Of the different sorts of parallelism it is perhaps needless to observe, that in no other language could they be carried to such a height as they are in Chinese: the exact equality in the number of words, which form each line of a poetical couplet, and the almost total absence of recurring particles that encumber our European languages, admit of their being adopted with peculiar effect. There is something of an antithetic parallel in the two first lines of Horace's well-known apologue.

"Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum."

But to make this resemble the arrangement of a Chinese couplet—to make the antithesis *sentential* as well as *verbal*,

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it would be necessary to set prosody at defiance, and write the corresponding words opposite to one another, somewhat in the following way:

"Rusticus mus, vetus hospes, accepisse fertur
Urbanum murem, veterem amicum, cavo paupere.*

Such refinements, though to some they may appear to savour of trifling, certainly contribute to heighten the peculiar rythmus of the poetry into which they are introduced, at the same time that they tend to increase its difficulties, and enhance the merit of the composition on the same principle that makes our neighbours, the French, so tenacious of rhyming tragedies, and the unities of the drama—"L'art en devient plus difficile, et les difficultés vaincues donnent en tout genre du plaisir et de la gloire."

The Chinese are so fond of their parallelisms, that the most common decorations of rooms, halls, and temples, are ornamental labels hung opposite to each other, or side by side, and called *Tuy-lëen*, which has precisely the meaning of the English term. These are sometimes inscribed on coloured paper, sometimes carved on wood, and distinguished by painting and gilding—but always in pairs. They have gene-

* It is evident that this transposition ruins the peculiar beauty of expression in the Latin, arising from the immediate contiguity of the antithetic, or corresponding words in the same line, which would be impracticable in the Chinese—a language entirely devoid of all inversion.

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rally an allusion to the circumstances of the dwelling, or of the inhabitant: and, by way of illustration merely, we might imagine some Chinese, who affected a just mediocrity in his desires and wishes, suspending on one side of his study a sentence which should have the meaning of,

Caret obsoleti sordibus tecti,

and, exactly opposite to it, another sentence in as many words,

Caret invidendâ sobrius aulâ.

The two first of the following examples were supplied by the kindness of Dr. Morrison: * they were taken down by him, during our progress with the British embassy, in the interior of China. The last couplet I wrote down myself, on a visit to a native.

閒 赫　洞 練　梧 松
閒 赫　明 達　桐 栢
到 有　世 人　丹 蒼
底 時　故 情　鳳 龍
勝 還　卽 皆　五 層
勞 寂　經 學　雲 漢
勞 寂　綸 問　邊 上

* In conversing with Dr. Morrison on this property of Chinese verse, and remarking that it was common to other languages, he suggested my adding to the present treatise a close comparison (like the one which I have here instituted) with the instances adduced by Bishop Lowth from the Hebrew. For the hint, therefore, I stand indebted to him.

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Sooog-pih tsang Loong tseng han shang ;
Woo-tong tan Foong woo yun pĕen.

Lĕen tă jin-tsing keae hĕŏ-wun ;
Tong ming she-hoo tsĕĕ hing-lun.

Hih-hih yew she hwan shuh-shuh ;
Hĕen-hĕen taou te shing laou-laou.

"From the Pine forest, the azure dragon ascends to the milky way:
From the Dryandra cordata, the crimson phœnix aspires to the borders of the variegated clouds." *

"Experience and discernment of the human passions may both be called learning ;
Deep and clear insight into the ways of the world also constitute subtle genius." ‡

"Fame and ambition themselves must have their intervals of repose;
Retirement and leisure are, after all, preferable to labour and anxiety."

PART II.

Thus much having been said concerning mere versification, or what may be styled the outward form of Chinese poetry, we have next to consider the spirit that animates it—

* The dragon and phœnix are here typical of the prosperous man rising to high fame and honours.

‡ Intended to shew, that true scholarship and genius are not confined to the mere knowledge of letters.

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and to ascertain, moreover, under what separate classes this department of their literature may be properly arranged, when viewed in relation to the divisions and nomenclature of European criticism.

It is here deemed necessary to premise, that such a mode of treating our subject is not adopted with the desire, or indeed with much prospect, of discovering any great correspondence or resemblance; but the process of comparison, to whatever result it may lead, is always useful on such occasions. It serves to methodize and give clearness to our conceptions of a subject comparatively new, as the artist sometimes introduces into his sketch a few objects of known and determinate dimensions, to assist in conveying juster notions of what he represents besides. On this occassion, too, it has another, and a peculiar use: for every thing concerning China stands unfortunately so insulated and remote from whatever generally constitutes a source of interest to Englishmen, that the only effectual way of attracting attention to it, is by bringing it in contact with objects nearer home, and thus allowing it to derive, from association, its fair share of advantage.

Unless submitted with some degree of allowance to the touchstone of European taste, the poetry of China might possibly succeed but indifferently. The test, if it be not considerately applied, is not only an illiberal, but an absurd one; and we have no right hastily to condemn the devotion which

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the ultra-Gangetic muse, (however foreign to ourselves may be her features and garb) inspires in her own native haunts; or to be surprized at the number of her exalted admirers, from Confucius down to Keënlong,—considering that national taste is the most conventional and capricious thing in the world; that it is determined by the infinite varieties of national character, national models, and national associations; and that even with the same old copies to refer to, and with a general similarity of institutions and customs, the different nations of the great European community vary, on such points, not a little among themselves.

Scimus,—et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim. There seem to be two causes, to which Chinese literature, of the lighter or ornamental kind, has owed its indifferent reception in the West—first, a want of choice and selection in the subjects—and secondly, a considerable absence of taste and judgment in the mode of treating them. It is really too much to expect that people will trouble themselves to look at what is either stupid and good-for-nothing in itself, or so marred in the intermediate process, as to have lost all the attraction that it possessed in the original state. Let us only place the Chinese in our own situation on such occasions, and imagine the dismay of some fastidious scholar who should unluckily stumble upon one of our street-ballads, *done* into bad Chinese, that is, with a verbal adherence to the original. It would either prove a perfect enigma, which is supposing

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the most fortunate case,—or he would thank his stars that the broad ocean divided him from such savages, and burn a supernumerary stick of incense before the shrine of his deified patron. The interests and reputation of Chinese literature in Europe therefore seem to demand, that its professors take some pains to render its introduction as attractive as possible, by a careful selection of the best subjects, and by treating these in such a manner as shall interest the greatest number of tasteful and cultivated readers. To weary the attention with a mere list of barbariphonous and uncouth names, to produce some bald and miserably verbal translation, to present the mere *caput mortuum* of something that in its original shape possessed spirit and beauty, is in fact scaring away attention from a new subject, which, with a little discretion, might be rendered sufficiently attractive even to *general* readers. With such considerations in view, we might look to the successful exploring of the Chinese mine, and to the extraction of the ore of genius and sense from the mass of baser matter in which it happened to be imbedded.

Whenever a work of taste meets with universal approval in its own country, we may be assured that its success is in great measure owing to the merits of its style and language; and therefore it seems singularly injudicious to think of transferring the spirit and effect of such a Chinese composition into bad English, which it must inevitably become, by a servile adherence to the letter of the original. Between the greater number of

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European languages there is a certain connection, which allows literalness of rendering to be carried to a great extent—but a verbal translation from the one concerning which we now treat, must of necessity degenerate into a horrible jargon, which few persons will undergo the disgust of perusing. These observations do not apply in the same manner to works of scientific or doctrinal detail, as to those of mere *taste*, whose end and aim is to convey pleasure, as well as instruction, — though perhaps chiefly the first. A certain distinction, too, must be made between *prose* and *poetry*: the former doubtless both requires and admits of a closer rendering—with regard to the latter, we may adopt the happy illustration used on a similar occasion, "Celui qui prétendrait juger de quelque POÈME que ce fût dans une traduction littérale, pourrait aussi raisonnablement espérer de trouver, sur le revers d'une tapisserie, les figures qu'elle représente dans toute leur délicatesse et toute leur splendeur." Verse, then, must be the shape into which Chinese, as well as all other poetry, ought to be converted, in order to do it mere justice; though in the present treatise, where so many different pieces are introduced for such different purposes, it has been thought expedient to adopt by turns a *prose translation*, a faithful *metrical version*, or an *avowed paraphrase*, as might best suit the subject and the occasion. More has been deferred herein, than suited the writer's own judgement and inclinations, to the prejudices of those who are still partial to the literal side of the question.

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To take up our subject at its commencement—the earliest poetry of China, like that of all other nations, appears to have consisted in songs and odes, intended occasionally to be accompanied by music. Such is the nature of that curious compilation, made more than two thousand years since, by Confucius, and illustrative of a state of things certainly very different from that which exists at the present day. It is divided into four portions, of which the first, the largest, and most interesting, is called *Kwŏ foong*, "the manners of different states,"—that is, of the states into which a portion of the present empire was then divided. These had all of them a kind of feudal dependence on one sovereign, who, in order to possess himself of the best means of estimating the character and sentiments of the various people more or less under his sway, was furnished with the songs and odes most popular among each of them. This agrees in a singular manner with the following remark of a writer in the Spectator.* "I have heard," says he, "that a minister of state in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had all manner of books and ballads brought to him, of what kind soever, and took great notice how much they took with the people; upon which he would, and certainly might, very well judge of their present dispositions, and of the most proper way of applying them according to his own purposes."

The bulk of these curious vestiges of antiquity in the

* No. 502.

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Sheeking do not rise beyond the most primitive simplicity, and their style and language, without the minute commentary that accompanies them, would not be always intelligible at the present day. This commentary, however, explains and elucidates their meaning, and, by means of the historical associations which it serves to convey, renders these songs the favourite study of the better informed at the present remote period. Every well-educated Chinese has the most celebrated pieces by heart, and there are constant allusions to them in modern poetry and writings of all kinds. Each stanza frequently ends with a species of repetition, or 'refrain,' common to such compositions in general, and, in proof of the extreme simplicity of these primitive songs, one of them is presented below. In the paraphrase which follows, it has been necessary to embody the full sense of what is only hinted at in the original, and explained at length in the commentary; according to which commentary, the ode has a reference to the success of a rich, and powerful suitor, who carries off the bride that had already been contracted to a humbler rival. The *kieu*, or robber-bird, is constantly alluded to in modern writing, as the emblem of unjust appropriation.

維鵲有巢
之子于歸

維鵲有巢
之子于歸

維鵲有巢
之子于歸

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百兩成之 維鳩盈之 百兩將之 維鳩方之 百兩御之 維鳩居之

"The nest yon winged artist builds,
The robber-bird shall tear away:
—So yields her hopes th'affianced maid,
Some wealthy lord's reluctant prey.

"The anxious bird prepares a home,
In which the spoiler soon shall dwell:
—Forth goes the weeping bride, constrain'd,
A hundred cars the triumph swell.

"Mourn for the tiny architect,
A stronger bird hath ta'en its nest:
—Mourn for the hapless, stolen bride,
How vain the pomp to soothe her breast!"

The second and third parts of the ancient book of odes, called respectively *Taya*, and *Seaouya*, are said to have been composed for the purpose of being sung or recited on state occasions; they treat of the great and virtuous actions of heroes and sages, or express their sentiments. The following example, however, which is taken from the Seaouya, would seem rather to be of a more private description. It is explained as referring to the pain, felt by the poet, at the unworthy conduct of some ungrateful friend; and the allusions to the storm, &c. are of course figurative.

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習習谷風
將恐將懼
將安將樂

習習谷風
將恐將懼
將安將樂

習習谷風
無草不死
忘我大德

維風及雨
維予與女
女轉棄予

維風及頹
寘予于懷
棄予于遺

維山崔嵬
無木不萎
思我小怨

"Now scarce is heard the zephyr's sigh
To breathe along the narrow vale:
Now sudden bursts the storm on high,
In mingled rush of rain and hail.
—While adverse fortune louring frown'd,
Than our's no tie could closer be;
But lo! when ease and joy were found,
Spurn'd was I, ingrate—spurn'd by thee!

"Now scarce is felt the fanning air
Along the valley's sloping side;
Now winds arise, and light'nings glare,
Pours the fell storm its dreadful tide!
—While fears and troubles closely prest,
By thee my love was gladly sought;
But once again with quiet blest,
Thou view'st me as a thing of nought!

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"The faithless calm shall shift again,
Another gale the bleak hill rend,
And every blade shall wither then,
And every tree before it bend:
—Then shalt thou wail thy lonesome lot,
Then vainly seek the injur'd man,
Whose virtues thou hadst all forgot,
And only learn'd his faults to scan."

The fourth and last portion, of the ancient poetical classic, is called *Soong*, that is, eulogies or penegyrics on the ancestors of the dynasty Chow, then filling the throne, and on the great personages of antiquity. They appear to have been a species of hymn, sung before the emperor when he sacrificed as *pontifex maximus*, (which has always been the particular office of Chinese sovereigns) in the temples of heaven and earth, or in the hall of his ancestors. Whatever may be the real character of the Sheeking on the score of poetical merit, it is at least curious, as having been *compiled* more than twenty centuries prior to our time, and some portions of it *composed* at a still earlier date. A pervading characteristic of the whole, as might be predicated of the early poetry of every country, is the boldness and frequency of the figures which are introduced.*

* One of the most striking examples appears as a quotation in Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, Part I. page 434:

"The royal legions were numerous and imposing;
Swift, as if they flew upon wings;
Impetuous, as a torrent or a cataract;

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It may be laid down as a rule, that every species of composition will be studied and perfected, in exact proportion to the estimation in which it is held, or the grandeur or interest of the occasions on which it is employed. When lyric compositions, like the odes of Pindar, and the Carmen Seculare, &c. of Horace, were displayed on great national and religious festivals—or shone forth the subjects of public, or imperial patronage, they became objects to which the first geniuses of the age directed their efforts; and the perfection which they attained was commensurate with the esteem in which they were held. In modern China, if odes are expressly composed for great court ceremonials, we have not yet met with any—such ceremonials are frequently accompanied by music, but that there are words to the music has not been so clearly ascertained.

There is a common species of composition called *Keŏ*, which cannot be better rendered than by Song, or Rhapsody. Its structure is as wild as the thoughts and imagery which it generally contains, the lines being of every length, but distinguished by recurring rhymes at intervals. Here follows a specimen.

Firm, as the base of a mountain;
Resistless, as the course of a river;
Forming an unbroken line, in matchless order;
Their motions inscrutable, their prowess invincible,
They proceeded to the conquest of the state Seu."

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萬里遄行多少淒凉途路
情看雲山重疊處似我亂
愁交併四邊落葉響秋聲
長空孤雁添悲硬題起傷
心事淚如傾回望馬嵬坡
下不覺恨填膺鳥梟旌旗
蔽殘日風搖影匹馬崎岐
怎暫停怎暫停只見黃埃
散漫天昏冥峨嵋山下少
人行冷雨斜風撲面迎

"In my wanderings of a thousand leagues, how many mournful thoughts afflict me on the road—I behold yon cloudy mountains piled one upon the other,—the emblems of my accumulated sorrows.—Around me the dropping leaves produce an autumnal sound—In the vast expanse, the solitary wild-fowl adds to my silent grief—I brood over my cares, and my tears descend—Looking back towards the base of *Matuy* Hill, an involuntary melancholy fills my breast—I see the waving banners intercept the setting sun—their shadows dancing in the breeze*—My horse has stopped at the precipitous

* This alludes to a tragical event in history, which occurred at the above-mentioned place. The emperor Yuen-tsoong (A. D. 702) had a mistress named Yangkuei, who was discovered carrying on an intrigue with a Tartar prince or

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turning. — Wherefore do we linger, wherefore do we linger — There is nought but the yellow sand drifting around— The sky is growing dark and gloomy—Few are the passengers at the foot of yon arched mountain: —the cold rain, urged by the gusty wind, is driving in my face."

Popular songs and ballads hold but a low rank in the literature of the country: and if we should even go so far as to include under this denomination the detached snatches of irregular verse (also called *Keŏ*) which are met with in their drama, the truth of the position would not be materially affected. The stage, and every thing pertaining to it, enjoys a lower estimation than in any part of Europe: and we may take occasion to notice in this place, that the Chinese cannot strictly be said to possess *dramatic* poetry, in the sense which the term bears among ourselves, who apply it to the whole of a dramatic composition, and chiefly to tragedy. They make no distinction between tragedy and comedy in their stage pieces, the dialogue of which is composed in ordinary *prose*; while the principal

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noble, called Ganloshan. The emperor abstained from punishing the guilty female, which led to remonstrances on the part of his ministers; but instead of attending to them, he complied with the request of Yangkuei, and gave the Tartar a military command within his dominions. No sooner had the latter reached his destination, than he set up the standard of rebellion, and the emperor, hastily assembling a large army, and accompanied by his favourite Yangkuei, proceeded to meet him in Szechuen. When they had reached the base of

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performer now and then chaunts forth, in unison with music, a species of song or 'vaudeville;' and the name of the tune or air is always inserted at the top of the passage to be sung. Here follow a few lines from the drama * called 'An Heir in Old Age.' The chief character in the piece, an old man who is anxious to obtain an heir before he dies, sets fire to his bonds of debt, hoping that such a sacrifice may induce the accomplishment of his wishes—and, when the papers are consumed, he breaks out thus:

"Do'st ask me why, by this rash hand,
A treasure to the flames was given?
Why but t'avert, ere yet too late,
The vengeance of offended heaven!

Full sixty years, by various arts,
For wealth I've toil'd, without an heir:
Who knows but heaven may yet relent,
And listen to a suppliant's prayer!"

While it is true that the Chinese themselves make no distinction between comedy and tragedy, a translator from their language is still at liberty to apply those terms, according to the serious and dignified, or comic and familiar

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the mountain *Matuy*, the soldiers mutinied, declaring that Yanykuei was the occasion of the rebellion, and demanding that she should be put to death before they consented to meet the enemy. The emperor was obliged to comply, and ordered her to be strangled on the stop—but his subsequent grief for her fate was the cause of his own death.

* London, 1816. French version, Paris, 1819.

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character of the composition which he selects. The writer of this has therefore not scrupled to give the title of tragedy to a rather favourable specimen of the Chinese stage, which he lately put into an English dress. In the unity of the plot, the dignity of the personages, the grandeur and importance of the events, the strict award of what is called poetical justice,—nay, in the division into five principal portions or acts, it might satisfy the most fastidious and strait-laced of European critics. Love and war, too, constitute its whole action, and the language of the imperial lover is frequently passionate to a degree one is not prepared to expect in such a country as China. The nature of its civil institutions, and the degraded state of the female sex, might generally be pronounced unfavourable to the more elevated strains of the erotic muse. The bulk of the people, it might be thought, are too much straitened for the bare means of subsistence, through the pressing demands of an excessive population, to admit of their lounging about and singing after the most approved manner of idle shepherds and shepherdesses; and the well-educated class, which comprehends almost all the higher ranks, or those in the employ of the government, too proud and unfeeling to make love the theme of their compositions, which are doubtless *chiefly* confined to moral and speculative, or descriptive subjects. The Drama in question, however, if it served no better purpose, might teach us not to pronounce too dogmatically on such points by reasonings *a priori*, but

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to wait patiently for the fruits of actual research and experience.

It has been observed in Part I. that the most flourishing era of modern poetry was under the Tāng dynasty. The most celebrated poet of that age was the renowned Letaepih, born in the province Szechuen, about A. D. 720. He is made to give the following account of himself in a play called the "Golden Token," which the writer of this once thought of putting into English, but abandoned as deficient in plot and incident. "When I was born," says the poet, "my mother dreamed that the morning star shone upon her bosom, and hence called me Taepih, 'surpassing brightness:' when the Emperor Yuentsoong commenced his reign, I was admitted to an audience in the imperial hall, and conversed of state affairs: the son of heaven conferred on me a repast, and helped me with his own hand." The poetical character in China has of old been associated with the liberal use of wine. Letaepih's intemperate propensities occasioned, it is said, his banishment from court; but he remained uncured, and at last fell overboard from the boat in which he was travelling, and was drowned. Any one who thought it worth his while to know more concerning this person, and some of his cotemporaries, might find their lives (though without their poetry) given at some length by Father Amyot, in the fifth volume of the Mémoires sur les Chinois.

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A number of esteemed collections, called Tāngshee, or 'Poems of the Tāng Dynasty,' are regarded, for the most part, as the compositions of Letaepih, and a few more of the better poets of that day. They contain many favourable specimens, evincing both taste and imagination, and the following passage may perhaps be considered as tolerable. A person fishing in a boat, upon a lake, is supposed to have been led, by the track of peach-blossoms floating on the water, into a narrow creek, which he pursued to a distance, until he reached a place inhabited by beings who, from the primitive simplicity of their manners, seemed to have escaped, in that secluded retreat, the persecution of the celebrated tyrant Tsinchehwong, and to have had no communication with the rest of the world since. On his return from this little Chinese paradise, the adventurous boatman related what he had seen,—or perchance only dreamed; but on attempting to find the place again, it had vanished. There is a neat allusion to the famous burning of the books by the tyrant's command.

炊烟落落少人居
風景依稀太古餘
草木盡生無稅地
子孫常讀未燒書
鷄鳴白日來溪洞
犬吠紅雲出草廬
若使扁舟能再返
十年余欲效爲漁

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"*The Inlet of Peach Blossoms.*"

"Few were th' inhabitants of that fair dell,—
Remnants their manners were of other days,—
Flourish'd their fields in peace,—no impost fell
Midway check'd labour's fruitful course,—the lays
Their children sung had' scaped the *general blaze*:
Adown the vale was heard the cock's shrill strain;
The watch-dog's voice welcom'd the morning rays;
Oh, could my bark those happy fields regain,
Long years of toil I'd brave—nor deem my labours vain."

The following specimen is from the same collection with the preceding. The value of timely showers, to which it alludes, can only be duly felt in a hot climate and a thirsty soil like the south of China, where, according to the common saying, "Three days make a short drought—five days a long one."

好雨知時節
當春乃發生
隨風潛入夜
潤物細無聲
野徑雲俱黑
江船火獨明
曉看紅濕處
花重錦官城

"*An Evening Shower in Spring,*'

"See how the gently falling rain
Its vernal influence sweetly showers,
As through the calm and tepid eve
It silently bedews the flowers:

"Cloudy and dark th' horizon spreads,
—Save where some boat its light is burning:

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But soon the landscape's tints shall glow
All radiant, with the morn returning."

There exist abundant materials of poetry in what may be called the heroic ages of China, when she was divided into independent states, contending against each other for sovereignty. The following lines are supposed to have been written by a certain emperor to his victorious general, of whose successes in the south he had just heard. The third and fourth lines are transposed in our version.

大將南征胆氣豪
腰橫秋水雁翎刀
風吹鼓山河動
電閃旌旗日月高
天上麒麟有種
穴中螻蟻豈能逃
太平待詔歸來日
朕與先生解戰袍

"The South subdued."

"Servant, well done—the erring south restor'd,
Bends to the prowess of thy glittering sword;
High as the orbs thy light'ning standard gleams,
Thy drum's loud music shakes the mountain streams,
And heaven's own race alights on earth again,
The foe to scatter to their murky den!
Know, when with pride thy glad return we hail,
Thy sovereign's hand shall loose his hero's mail.

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No composition, however, to which the name of Epic could properly be applied, has ever rewarded European research. Though poetry exists in some shape or other all over the world, the same universality hardly attaches to that modification of it, which we style the Epopee: and, but for the two great prototypes of Homer, there seems to be no absolute necessity for supposing that it must have arisen, or at least been so frequent, in our western literature. It was confessedly in imitation of Homer that Virgil wrote, and all subsequent epics have been more or less, in conception at least, if not in execution, imitations of these two, or of each other. Voltaire himself has informed us, that when he consulted the advice of a friend previous to composing his own poem, he met with no better encouragement than this: "You undertake a work which is not suited to us—les Français n'ont pas la tête epique"—But without going farther for reasons, the first part of this treatise may perhaps have served to demonstrate, that the turn and construction of Chinese verse unfits it for such sustained compositions. To be esteemed good, it must be so highly elaborated, that the costliness of the material may place limits to the size of the structure. It would be a tremendous attempt to preserve such nicely balanced couplets through the slow length of an epic poem; not to mention, that when the task had been completed, it might weary the reader as much as it had disquieted the author, and bestow upon the first all the sleep of which it

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had deprived the second. The only long metrical narrations of the Chinese are some novels and licentious* pieces, in which the structure of the verse is altogether loose—a sort of 'stans pede in uno' measure—and devoid of those characteristics which constitute the chief merit of their poetry. Such compositions, accordingly, do not possess that degree of estimation, nor hold that rank in literature which, as we have before observed, is necessary to the due perfection of every department of the art. ‡

There is another description of poetry which we should not look for in China, namely, the Pastoral,—and for very obvious reasons. It has not only been the care of the government, from the earliest ages, to give every direct

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* There never was any assertion more incorrect than this of Martinius, concerning the lighter poetry of China. "Insunt iis quædam de amando, sed castitatem magis quam nostrorum poetarum mollitiem spirantia, *magna decori ubique cura.*"—In translating the excellent prose romance of *Haoukeouchuen*, otherwise unexceptionable, the writer of this was obliged to exclude two passages in verse, which were distinguished—'*minimâ decori curâ.*' There are whole poems of the same description.

† Those half-mechanical conceits, of which the principal merit consists in the imitation, in tortured verses, of some object in art or nature, as a knot, a circle, a sceptre, &c. are well known to the Chinese: but sound taste and criticism have universally consigned these *difficiles nugæ* to a very low rank in literature, and we therefore abandon them without further notice.

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encouragement to agriculture, and to the production of food for man alone, but there have always existed some absurd prejudices and maxims, not to say positive laws, against an extended consumption of flesh food.* The penal code denounces severe punishments against those who kill *their own* cattle without an express license.† It is a well known principle, that where tillage exists to a considerable extent, the rent of land reserved for pasture must, in proportion to its goodness, be equal to that of land employed in producing grain; and this, under a rice cultivation, where three crops per annum are said sometimes to be obtained, must have such an obvious effect in raising the comparative price of meat, as must necessarily discourage its consumption among so frugal a people as the Chinese, even without the intervention of any positive law. There is accordingly no people in the world (the Hindoos‡ always excepted), that consumes so little meat, or so much fish and vegetable food—nor, again, is there any country in which fewer cattle are employed for the purposes of draft and burthen. Where every institution tends so fatally to keep a population up to the very utmost limits of a bare subsistence, and where neither pride nor

* See a long paper, 'Sur l'usage de la viande en Chine.' Mémoires, T. xi.

† Book iv. sect. 233.

‡ Bishop Heber's Journal proves that the Hindoos themselves are not so scrupulous as they have been supposed. They consume milk, too, which the Chinese, strange to say, never think of.

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prejudice steps in between the labourer and his work, human exertion naturally supplants every other. In the southern parts of the empire, therefore, beasts of carriage and draft, with the exception of a few miserable riding horses, and a few buffaloes for ploughing, are nearly unknown. Towards Peking, and the uncultivated borders of Tartary, the case becomes altered: but the Great Wall may still be considered, generally, as the boundary which separates two people, one of them exclusively pastoral, and the other as exclusively tillers of the earth.

The esteem in which the business of tillage is held, may be expected to have rendered it the subject of poetical celebration: and we find the praises of fertile fields sung in such strains as the following. Years of dearth they term 'years of nothingness.'

人工雖未及
不任耕耘早
無年皆有穫
贍盈千畝
贍盈千畝
何須祭田祖
況值春臺啟

地力信非常
偏宜黍稷良
後種亦先芳
菁菁保萬箱
詎要察農祥
和風日又長

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"*Fields that know no years of Dearth.*"

"Though man's superfluous labour ceas'd to till
The fertile glebe, ne'er would its bounties end:
Though rusting lay the abandon'd ploughshare—still
O'er the fair land would waving harvests bend.

"Less happy soils may pine in years of dearth—
Late though we sow, we *early* reap the field;
A thousand roods of richly-teeming earth,
In verdant crops ten thousand measures yield!

"Why haunt we then, the sylvan's mossy shrine—
Why ask what harvest shall our toils attend?
See the sweet spring with surer presage shine,
And balmy airs, and length'ning days descend!

We have next to notice a large class of poetry, which may be properly styled Moral or Didactic. The long citation from the philosopher Kwonfootsze, given by Dr. Morrison at p. 147 of the Third part of his Dictionary, comes under this head. It commences thus:

"Venerate heaven and earth: perform the rites to the gods,
Worship your ancestors: be dutiful to your parents:
Observe the laws: revere your teachers and superiors,
Love your brothers: and be true to your friends,"&c.

The whole piece bears some resemblance to the Golden verses of Pythagoras, particularly in the commencement, which may be thus literally rendered:

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"First, as the laws ordain, th' immortal gods
Worship: observe your vows: the great of yore
Next, and the manes of the dead revere:
Honour your parents, and your next of kin," &c.

There are innumerable poems, or rather metrical essays, whose object it is to convey the doctrines and precepts of the great national sages and others. The whole of the well-known work called Shingyu, Instructions addressed to the people by the second Emperor of the present Tartar family, has been cast into a short, chyming verse. The example, given in Part I. at page 401, comes likewise under this head; as do all the similar productions of the Budhists, and other sects. We must consider them as forming a portion of the national literature in the gross, although they have nothing to do with Confucius, or his doctrines, and are commonly held by the privileged learned in as great contempt as the superstitions to which they pertain.

In the course of their lighter works, Chinese writers frequently introduce moral reflections in verse with very good effect. A couplet, a quatrain, or a passage of eight or more lines, agreeably engages the reader's attention in his progress through a romance or novel, and generally accompanies the transition to some other part of the story. They are not altogether unlike the rhymes at the close of the scenes in our older plays, and usually consist, as those did, of some reflection upon what has gone before, or what is immediately to

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follow; though in a narrative they certainly find a more proper place than in the drama, and are not there subject to the reproach of bad taste, which has generally excluded such passages from our own modern stage pieces. Here follow examples from the "Fortunate Union."

大若直糢　上勸誰奸
都問至糊　有君知狡
假老交世　蒼不敗休
此天情事　蒼必露誇
煉顛久倏　日遮出用
人倒自多　鑒人無智
心意深變　臨目心深

"Vain are the crafty villain's wiles, most vain,
Often, when vaunted most—disgrace, defeat,
Rush headlong in from quarters little fear'd!
Hearken to counsel, friend, and when secure
You deem yourself from mortals' purbliad eyes,
Think there's a heaven above, that surveys all!"

"Human events in quick vicissitude
Succeed each other: but true friendship's ties
Gain strength from time! Ask ye why sovereign heav'n
Thus vexes mortals?—Tis to try their hearts
Like metal in the fiery crucible."

Satire, viewed as a means of recommending virtue by discrediting vice, cannot be said to exist in any regular form,

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or to constitute a particular branch of literature. Some of the ancient pieces in the Sheeking have been considered as levelled at persons existing when they were composed; but they have no more claim on this account to the name of satires, than Horace's ode "In Mævium." There is no country, at the same time, in which anonymous lampoons, and similar vehicles of invective or ridicule, are more common. They form one of the most ordinary outlets for the ebullitions of public feeling: and must be considered, by every person who has had opportunities of making the observation, as a very important check, under so absolute a despotism, upon the conduct of Chinese rulers. The highest officers of government are not exempt from these covert attacks, which are constantly made, notwithstanding the severest punishments in case of detection.

——"I will ease my heart,
Although it be with hazard of my head."

The following are specimens of satirical passages introduced in the course of a novel, to ridicule the worthless characters, both male and female.

只道諛言誰知轉變若非天賦何
痛削如珠面金髮朱脣海潤閻王見慣
嚇殺劉郎

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人做老當　宮額渾與
所羞面得　山樣閒阮
喜耻皮起　粧長事郎

"He thought his flattering phrases needs must prove
Welcome—nor dream'd of foul repulse and shame:
And had not bounteous heav'n his forehead arm'd
With impudence unmatch'd, this keen rebuff
Had stung him!

"In pearls and gold all gorgeously attir'd,
No arts could deck her native ugliness!
The demon king might view her as his own—
She carried terror to a bridegroom's eye!"

We now proceed to consider a very extensive department of Chinese poetry, the Descriptive, which to us strangers must be the most agreeable of all, and which really possesses some attractive features. The whole language abounds in figurative expressions, derived from the most pleasing or most striking objects and circumstances in nature. Thus 'Spring dreams and autumnal clouds' mean flitting visions of happiness—unattainable good is represented by 'the moon's reflection in the wave'—'floating clouds obscuring the day' express the temporary shade thrown by detraction on illustrious characters—difficulty of acting is figured by 'the grass and tangle in one's path'—female beauty by the obvious and common semblance of 'a fair flower'—

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'spring' is the emblem of joy, 'autumn' of sorrow — gladness is expressed by 'the heart's flowers being all full-blown' — the virtue of the female character is pictured under 'the white gem, the pure crystal, the cold and transparent ice' — 'the season when peach-blossoms are in beauty' means that of marriage, as marriages were anciently celebrated in spring—searchers after pleasure are depicted under the figure of 'bees and butterflies among flowers'—and so on without end.

There exist a great number of figurative allusions, which contain a particular reference to some event in history or romance; and as the facts, or fables, at which these only *hint*, cannot sometimes be discovered without the assistance of a well-informed native, this circumstance constitutes a considerable obstacle, in the present state of our knowledge, to the successful study of Chinese poetry, any where but in the country itself. The following are examples of such allusions. 'The heart that responds to the lute,' means yielding to seductive arts, and refers to the story of a young damsel named *Wunkeum*, who being beloved by a youth called *Szemā*, was serenaded by him on the lute, with a song called Foong kew hwong, or the "Bird *foong* in search of its mate." The story says that *Ke sin tōng*, 'her heart was moved,' and she eloped with her admirer towards morning, leaving the traces of her flight along the dewy pathway.

A grateful return for benefits is implied under these expressions: — 'The spirit which knit the grass' —and 'the bird that brought the yellow flowers.' 1. An emperor of the dynasty

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called *Chow*, enjoined it on his son and successor to bury alive, after the old Scythian or Tartar fashion, one of his favourite mistresses in the same grave with himself. The son, however, refrained from executing this portion of the imperial will, on the ground of its cruelty, and gave away the lady in marriage to a noble. On making war against the state called *Tsin*, the new Emperor was opposed by a formidable leader; but he dreamed at night that he saw the deceased father of the lady he had saved from death, who told him, that in return for the life granted to his daughter, he would assist him against the enemy. The result proved the vision to be prophetic — the hostile leader was defeated, and some invisible agent so twisted the long grass which impeded his flight, as to cause his capture. 2. A person who saw a bird fall to the earth, wounded by an arrow, had the humanity to draw out the weapon, and restore the bird to liberty as soon as it recovered. Being soon afterwards sick and in danger of his life, the bird appeared to him, bearing in its bill some yellow flowers, which the patient was advised to try, and which presently restored him to health.

The poetry of China is not unsupplied with mythological aids: every element of nature,—with all the phenomena that these exhibit,—each hill, stream, and wood, has its presiding spirit. There is *Hwuyloo*, the monarch of fire; *Luykoong*, the thunder god; *Lühshin*, the spirit of the autumnal wave,—and others innumerable. An interesting divinity, called *Yuĕlaou*, 'the old man of the moon,' deserves some notice. It is his

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peculiar business to tie together at their birth, with an invisible silken cord, all youths and maidens who are predestined for each other, after which the most distant separation, and apparently insurmountable obstacles, cannot prevent their ultimate union. This is what is called *(yew yuen)*, 'having a connection in fate.' With such a variety of imaginative resources, and with some of the brightest leaves of the book of nature, displayed to them in an immense tract of country, surpassed by none in natural advantages, this people would be dull indeed, if they could not turn to some account the materials which they possess.

The muse, too, may call to her assistance the smaller race of fairies, or sprites, who are supposed to haunt the recesses of hills and woods, and to exercise either a benign, or a malicious influence over mortals. Possessing but a vague notion of the ideas which the Chinese really entertained of these imaginary persons, the writer of this applied for information to his Sëen-seng (or *pundit*, as such a character would be called less far to the east), and the reply was to this effect. "They are mysterious beings who convert themselves at will into the semblance, sometimes of beautiful women, at others of ugly monsters,—in infinite veriety. They delight most in frustrating the attempts made by the devotees of Fŏ, or Budha, to reach a superhuman state, and whenever these chance to waver the least in their faith or practice, they become immediately *possessed* (chŏ leaou moo), that is, the malicious spirits acquire a dominion over them." Being asked if he believed in their existence, he seemed

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rather unprepared to answer, but observed, that they possessed the greatest influence over the minds of the country people, and the devotees of the superstition above-mentioned. It may be noticed, that Confucius neither gave the express sanction of his opinion to the existence of unembodied spirits, nor did he expressly deny the same: but transmitted these early traditions of his country exactly as he found them; busying himself chiefly with the more important concerns of political government and morals.

Several of the pieces already given might be arranged under the descriptive class. The following quotation from a novel called the 'Dreams of the Red Chamber,' is rather a poetical account of a young Chinese profligate, although it consists of a very irregular species of verse, in six and seven words. The version below is lineatim, and almost verbatim, and pretends to nothing more than a very close adherence to the sense of the original; which, it must be remarked, is not an extract from a long poem, but one of those poetical breaks, with which prose works of taste are generally embellished.

無故尋愁覓恨
有時似俊如狂
縱然生得好皮囊
一腸原來是莽
潦倒不通庶務
愚頑怕讀文章
行爲偏僻性乖張
那管人間誹謗

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富貴不知樂業
貧窮難耐凄凉
可憐辜負好韶光
于國于家無望
天下無能第一
古今不肖無雙
寄言紈袴與膏粱
莫效此兒形狀

"The paths of trouble heedlessly he braves,
Now shines a wit—and now a madman raves:
His outward form by nature's bounty drest,
Foul weeds usurp'd the wilderness, his breast;
And bred in tumult, ignorant of rule,
He hated letters—an accomplish'd fool!
In act depraved, contaminate in mind,
Strange! had he fear'd the censures of mankind.

Titles and wealth to him no joys impart—
By penury pinch'd, he sank beneath the smart:
Oh, wretch! to flee the good thy fate intends,
Oh, hopeless! to thy country and thy friends!
In uselessness, the first beneath the sky,
And curst, in sinning, with supremacy!
Minions of pride and luxury, lend an ear,
And shun his follies, if his fate ye fear!"

The language of descriptive poetry exists in every intermediate gradation, from the perfectly formed couplet and stanza, to those figurative compositions, which differ from

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prose in little else than the brilliancy of their imagery, or the elevation of their sentiment. Besides the *Tsze*, of which an example has been given in the First Part (page 409), there is a still less fettered species—a kind of impassioned prose, into which the writer of a narrative now and then breaks forth, when inspired by the occasion. The following example is taken from the romance of the 'Fortunate Union,' and describes the heroine when she is first seen by her future lover. The parallelisms are marked and divided by colons in the translation.

嬌媚如花而肌膚光艷蓋灼灼之浮華輕盈似燕而舉止安詳笑翩翩之失措眉畫春山而淡濃多態覺春山之有愧眼橫秋水而流轉生情怪秋水之無神腰纖欲折立亭亭不怕風吹俊影難描鶴癯癯最宜月照髮光可鑑不假塗膏秀色堪飡何須膩粉慧心悄悄越骨越靈望而知其爲仙子冲人俠掩冷冷愈柔愈烈察而識其非閨閣之秀蕙性蘭心初只疑美人顏色珠圓玉潤久方知君子風流

"With the delicacy of a flower, her complexion displayed a clear brilliancy which put to shame the floating light of day: with the buoyant lightness of the swallow, her movements were ordered with inimitable grace and propriety. The arches of her brows were like the outlines of the vernal hills in the distance, but in their changeful expression they shamed the varying tints of even the vernal hills: the brightness of her eyes equalled that of the clear wave in autumn, but the living sentiment which flowed from them made you wonder how the autumnal wave had lost its deity.* Her waist, like a thread in fineness, seemed ready to break; yet was it straight and erect, and feared not the fanning breeze: the shadowy graces of her person it was as difficult to delineate, as the form of the white bird, rising from the ground by moonlight. The natural gloss of her hair resembled the bright polish of a mirror, without the false assistance of unguents: her face was perfectly lovely in itself, and needed not paint to adorn it. The native intelligence of her mind seemed to have gathered strength from retirement; and beholding her, you might know she was of a superior order of beings: the cold and rigid s...tness of her manners, severe as she herself was soft and delicate, proved her to be no ordinary inhabitant of the female apartments. Her sweet and feminine disposition, comparable to fragrant flowers, might lead one at first

* Called Lŭhshin.

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to class her with other fair ones: but the perfection of this pearl, the polish of this gem, discoverable on a longer acquaintance, proved that she possessed qualities not inferior to the most spirited of the opposite sex."

Under the discriptive class may be properly introduced a very singular production,—a poem on London, composed by a Chinese who visited England about the year 1813. Some notice of it appeared, for the first time, in the Quarterly Review for 1817; but as the present opportunity admits of the translation being accompanied by the original, no apology perhaps is needed for the insertion of the whole poem, notwithstanding its length, considering that it is a native of the remotest shores of Asia who sings the glories of the British capital—'præsertim cùm omne studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias, ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam.'—The reviewer made a trivial mistake in stating that it was written by 'a common Chinese,' for the author was in a respectable station of life, and a person of good acquirements, who accompanied home an English gentleman as his instructor in the language. He was in fact a very *uncommon* Chinese, inasmuch as he appears to have possessed an inclination and capacity for observation, by no means usual among his travelled countrymen, who are generally of a class much inferior to himself. The remarks are, as might be expected, confined exclusively to objects which at once strike the eye, and they do not extend to the remoter points of

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intelligent investigation, since the author's very limited knowledge of our language, and total inability to comprehend the nature of our institutions, placed such higher objects entirely out of his reach. Being a simple description, the poem contains but few flights of fancy; and as it would be a hopeless attempt, however well they may sound in Chinese, to give dignity in verse to matters so perfectly domestic and familiar to ourselves, it has been judged best to subjoin a literal prose translation.

蘭墅十咏

海	有	地	樓	意	心	干
遙	國	冷	高	誠	好	戈
西	號	宜	可	尊	尙	不
北	英	親	摘	禮	持	暫
極	崙	火	星	拜	經	停

獨	心	意	樓	地	有	海
恨	好	誠	高	冷	國	遙
佛	尙	尊	可	宜	號	西
唧	持	禮	摘	親	英	北
嘶	經	拜	星	火	崙	極

London, *in Ten Stanzas.*"

I.

"Afar in the ocean, towards the extremities of the north-west,
There is a nation, or country, called England: [fire;
The clime is frigid, and you are compelled to approach the
The houses are so lofty, that you may pluck the stars:
The pious inhabitants respect the ceremonies of worship,
And the virtuous among them ever read the Sacred books;
They bear a peculiar enmity towards the *French* nation,
The weapons of war rest not for a moment (between them)."

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山澤鍾靈秀
層巒展書眉
賦人尊女貴
在地坤滋
少女紅花臉
佳人白玉肌
由來樂愛重
夫婦情相俟

2.

"Their fertile hills, adorned with the richest luxuriance,
Resemble, in the outline of their summits, the arched eyebrows (of a fair woman).
The inhabitants are inspired with a respect for the female sex,
Who in this land correspond with the perfect features of nature:
Their young maidens have cheeks resembling red blossoms,
And the complexion of their beauties is like the white gem:
Of old has connubial affection been highly esteemed among them,
Husband and wife delight in mutual harmony."

夏月村郊晚
行人不厭遊
草長潤任資牧馬
攔拾麥宜棲牛
尋花興歌唱
相呼早回首
烟霧恐迷留

3.

"In the summer evenings, through the hamlets and gardens beyond the town,
Crowds of walkers ramble without number:
The grass is allowed to grow as a provision for horses,
And enclosures of wooden-rails form pastures for cattle.

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The harvest is gathered in with the singing of songs:
The loiterers roam in search of flowers without end,
And call to each other to return in good time,
Lest the foggy clouds bewilder and detain them."

人最眺曲衣生燈戲
人是舞歌裝旦後樓
笑歌鼓琴錦姿綵關
臉諧簫笛繡容屏永
廻趣催和裁美開晝

4.

"Their theatres are closed during the long days;
It is after dark that the painted scenes are displayed:
The faces of the actors are handsome to behold,
And their dresses are composed of silk and satin: [ments,
Their songs resound in unison with stringed and wind instru-
And they dance to the inspiring note of drums and flutes:
It constitutes the perfection of harmonious delight,
Every one retires with a laughing countenance."

形洛河石人舟三兩
勢陽流磴馬船橋岸
畧天九千過步隔分
相下派層雲胯水南
同冠溶叠中下通北

5.

"The two banks of the river lie to the north and south,
Three bridges interrupt the stream, and form a communication.

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Vessels of every kind pass between the arches,
While men and horses pace among the clouds:
A thousand masses of stone rise one above the other,
And the river flows through nine channels:
The bridge of *Loyăng*, which out-tops all in our empire,
Is in shape and size somewhat like these."

富庶烟花地　人工闘物華　帝城雙鳳闕　雲樹萬人家　公子馳車馬　佳人曳縠紗　六街花柳地　何處種桑蔴

6.

"It is a rich, populous, and highly adorned land,
Its workmen vie with each other in the excellence of their manufactures.
Within the circuit of the imperial residence is a splendid palace;
Lofty trees are immingled with unnumbered dwellings.
The young gentry ride in wheel-carriages and on horseback,
And the fair women clothe themselves in silken garments:
*The space in each street being devoted to ornament,
Where is there room for the mere useful productions of the earth?"

---

* Literally, "Every street being devoted to flowers and willows, where is there space to plant mulberries and hemp (to produce silk and flax)?"—There are explanatory notes, and a commentary, in the original, which we have not thought it necessary to give here.

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高閣層層上
豪華第宅隆
鐵欄傍戶窓
河水繞牆通
粉壁塗文采
玻瓈綴錦紅
最宜街上望
樓宇畵圖中

7.

"The towering edifices rise story above story,
In all the stateliness of splendid mansions:
Railings of iron thickly stud the sides of every entrance,
And streams from the river circulate through the walls:
The sides of each apartment are variegated with devices;
Through the windows of glass appear the scarlet hangings;
And in the street itself is presented a beautiful scene,
The congregated buildings have all the aspect of a picture."

九月闔整裡
人情樂遠遊
移家入村郭
探友落鄉陬
車馬聲寥日
魚鰕價賤秋
樓房多寂寞
破壞及時修

8.

"In London, about the period of the ninth moon,
The inhabitants delight in travelling to a distance:
They change their abodes, and betake themselves to the country,
Visiting their friends in their rural retreats:
The prolonged sound of carriages and steeds is heard through the day:
Then in autumn the prices of provisions fall:

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And the greater number of dwellings being untenanted,
Such as require it are repaired and adorned."

大路多半坦
條條十字衢
兩傍行士女
中道駢車店
夜市人喧際
冬寒雪積塗
晚燈燦路如
火燭燦星

9.

"The spacious streets are exceedingly smooth and level,
Each being crossed by others at intervals:
On either side perambulate men and women,
In the centre career along the carriages and horses;
The mingled sound of voices is heard in the shops at evening:
During midwinter the heaped-up snows adhere to the pathway;
Lamps are displayed at night along the street sides,
Whose radiance twinkles like the stars of the sky."

地冷難栽稻
由來不阻饑
濃茶調酪潤
烘麵裹肥盒
美饌盛脂厄
佳醪酌玉盃
土風尊飲食
入席預更衣

10

"The climate is too cold for the cultivation of rice,
But they have for ages been exempt from the evils of famine;
With strong tea they immingle rich cream,
And their baked wheaten bread is involved in unctuous lard.

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Here excellent meats are served in covers of silver,
And fine wines are poured into gem-like cups;
The custom of the country pays respect to the ceremony of meals,
Previous to the repast, they make a change in their vestments."

Of a similar description with the stanzas on London is another poem, not concerning the English exclusively, but Europeans in general, composed by a Hong merchant who has been dead some years. This person, notwistanding his unpoetical profession, was possessed of very respectable literary acquirements, and one of his sons held a high rank in the imperial college at Peking.—"After an intercourse of thirty years (to use his own expressions), which had made him tolerably familiar with the peculiarities of foreigners, he had retired, stricken in years, into solitude, and amused himself over his cups (like Letaepih, of course) in composing a score of stanzas commemorative of some strange customs and opinions prevailing beyond the seas."—The production corresponds with its title, *Seyang tsih yoong*, "Unconnected Stanzas on Europeans;" and, after the perusal of the foregoing description from a person who had viewed us at home, may be deemed curious, as depicting the estimation formed of us by one who had never left his own country. With that want of minute discrimination which might be expected under such circumstances, the verses treat chiefly of those leading features which are common to all nations wearing hats and coats, and mingle, together with the rest, the Roman Catholic ceremonies

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of the Portuguese at Macao. Being less interesting to Englishmen than the poem which has already been given at full length, it may suffice to present an abstract of whatever observations it contains most deserving of notice.

The retired Bard commences with lauding the good faith of the foreigners, who "make use of no formality, in their most extensive bargains, more solemn than a mere shake of the hand," and proceeds to hint, in the next verse, that "the simple virtues of barbarians have been the subject of praise from the oldest times." It is quite true that commercial transactions of the largest description are frequently conducted at Canton on the mere faith of promises; and the good poet had never been in the way of seeing our legal stamps and parchments at home, which might have gone far to make him withdraw his last compliment.

"When a guest arrives, the host helps him with his own hand to the juice of the grape,"—and it is added in a note, "they welcome visitors with wine, and not with tea," which is the Chinese fashion. "To touch glasses in drinking is a mark of friendship. In winter evenings they sit by the fire, and pour out *cold* wine, careless of the snows which lie deep beyond the door." In China they always warm their wine.

"They make light of their lives," it is observed, "on occasions of personal contest, and when two of them quarrel, the consequences may be very serious. They stand face to

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face, and discharge fire-arms at each other on a given signal." In a note it is said, "If one fall, the survivor is not punished: if neither fall, there is an end of the quarrel." "They do this," adds the poet, "to shew that they are not afraid,—and so forth."

Our author marvels much at the comparatively late period at which Europeans marry, but endeavours to explain it in this way. "Their distant voyages abroad keep them long from home, and it is not until they have accumulated a fortune that they return to take a wife. Many do not marry before fifty years of age; and if the bride be very young on these occasions, it is no scandal." The knowledge of the worthy Hong merchant on this subject seems to have been much on a par with that of the St. Helena lady, who asked if London were not thrown into a great bustle by the arrival of the India fleet.

"In the regulation of the annual period, they have no intercalary moon, but the new year always commences ten days after the winter solstice. On this occasion they powder their heads with white dust, and all get tipsy." This evidently refers to good old times, and to manners now gone by. The author himself adds in a note: "This habit has of late years worn out."—There is a variety of other detached observations, less worthy of notice, and the poem concludes with mentioning, that "the foreigners had been fighting together for some twenty years; but it was to be hoped they would soon make peace with

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one another, and all have an opportunity of improving themselves by an intercourse with China."

A retrospect of our subject might tend to shew, that the poetry of China most naturally arranges itself under three general heads. 1. Odes and Songs. — 2. Moral and Didactic Pieces. — 3. Descriptive and Sentimental. These different kinds are, however, so blended together occasionally, and run so much into one another, that it is not always very easy, nor indeed perhaps is it of much consequence, to separate them. It has been remarked before, that as the substance and dialogue of their drama is always in prose, and the musical parts come properly under the definition of songs, the Chinese cannot with strictness be said to possess what *we mean* by dramatic poetry, that is, tragedies or plays of any kind composed mainly in verse.

At the end of this treatise will be found a miscellaneous selection of poetical pieces, extracted at random; and for the satisfaction of those who may prefer such a mode, they are accompanied, not by metrical versions, but by prose translations, as literal as they could be well rendered; — although it must always be kept in mind, that this is a most disadvantageous dress for the poetry of any language whatever.

In thus coming to a conclusion, the author feels himself bound, as well for the sake of the subject, as his own, to notice the manner in which Professor Rémusat, of Paris, has done him the honour to quote his opinion regarding Chinese poetry. In the preface to his translation of the *Yu keaou le*, when treating

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of the passages in verse with which that novel is interspersed, and of their frequent obscurity, M. Rémusat observes, "Le traducteur des Nouvelles dont j'ai précédemment fait mention, assure que les vers dont il s'agit sont principalement destinés à flatter l'oreille, et que le sens y est très souvent sacrifié à l'harmonie." Now the passage to which M. Rémusat alludes is the following, and it confines itself so expressly to the *musical*, or *operatic portions of the drama*, that it would seem impossible to extend its application either to novels, or to any other part of Chinese literature. "A considerable portion, of the PLAYS of the Chinese, consists of a sort of irregular verse, which is *sung*, or *chaunted with music*. This is often very obscure in its import; and as, according to the Chinese themselves, the gratification of the ear is its main object, sense itself appears sometimes to be neglected (not *sacrificed*), for the sake of a pleasing sound." That this is really the case, as regards the songs of the drama alone, is proved, as well by the verbal testimony of natives, as by the following passage from the preface to the "Hundred Plays of Yuen," which refers chiefly to stage rules.

雖字有差訛不傷音律不爲害
譜識要後腔明要先低大也

"Although the words may be wrong, provided that the laws of sound and cadence be not violated, there is no harm done; —generally speaking, the study of the tune, or air, must be the first consideration, and the knowledge of the part (or

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rôle) the second." This is all extremely possible, and finds a parallel in our own opera and stage songs, some of which are sufficiently insignificant, and intended merely as pegs to hang musical notes upon—but that he should ever have said any thing so extravagant regarding poems which are addressed expressly to the *eye* and the *understanding*, and to them only, the writer of this must utterly disclaim. As M. Rémusat could not have intended to misrepresent his meaning, he feels persuaded that the quotation was made from memory.

Since it would appear, then, that Chinese poetry generally *has* a meaning, although this meaning may not always be very easy to arrive at,* some effectual means of increasing our acquaintance with it is perhaps one of the greatest desiderata in eastern literature. It is very easy to "harden ignorance into contempt," and to assume that whatever is unknown is not worth knowing: but the excellent use which has already been made of oriental thoughts and imagery, derived from languages of Asia more familiar to us, might encourage some extension in the range of our enquiries. Fruits of the highest culture may be improved and varied by foreign grafts; and as our gardens have already been indebted to China for a few choice flowers, who knows but our poetry may some day lie under a similar obligation? However small the

* La langue poétique des Chinois est véritablement intraduisible; on pourrait peut-être ajouter qu'elle est souvent *inintelligible*.'—M. Remusat.

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prospect of advantage, every scrap of *novelty* may turn out to be a real gain;—the declining age of some of the finest literature the world ever saw having borne witness, that ordinary topics of poetry will at last grow threadbare, and become tiresome through much use.

"Nota magis nulli domus est sua, quàm mihi lucus
Martis, et Æoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani—quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Æacus—unde alius furtivæ devehat aurum
Pelliculæ—quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos:
—Expectes eadem a summo, minimoque poetâ."

MISCELLANEOUS POETRY.

高芙插飛我凌回默
瀑蓉天雪作風看默
三九開走雲控吳暮
千疊日雷中杳楚烟
尺屏月霆鶴冥裏青

"On ascending the highest Peak of the Leushan." *

"There falls a precipitous cascade of three thousand feet;
Here the Hibiscus shades every rising summit;
The mountain touches the sky, and separates the orbs;
The drifting snows fly amidst the thunder.

* A mountain near the Poyang Lake, visited by the Embassy in 1816.

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I am like the white bird among the clouds,
I insult the winds, and invade the profound abyss.
—As I turn and look down on each neighbouring province,
The evening smoke of the dwellings rises in blue specks."

十年不相見
相見卽相離
縱有重來約
殊非少壯時
流雲多逐影
落葉不歸枝
又作南來雁
青山何處期

" On taking leave of a Friend."

" Ten years have elapsed since last we parted,
And no sooner have we met, than we part again:
We may bind ourselves by promises to renew this meeting,
But we shall never be so young as we are now!
The shadows of the passing clouds speedily vanish—
The fallen leaf returns not to its branch:
Should I fly, like the wild bird, to seek you in the south,
In what part of yon blue mountains shall we meet?"

文彩宜深隱
羅浮是汝鄉
芳菲那可久
雲路好翱翔
露濕丹囊重
風清錦翅長
兒童憐復損
珍重此行藏

" On giving liberty to a Butterfly."

" Those variegated hues should be less rashly exposed,
The recesses of the mountains are thy proper haunts:

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The fragrant, but short-lived herbs are there,
And those airy paths will best suit thy flight:
Thy crimson form is heavy with dew,
Thy embroidered wings should expatiate in the clear breeze:
Destruction here awaits thee from the fondness of the boy,
Go then, and hide thy treasures from his reach."

惡樹何年値
崔嵬信不材
高花飛不斷
落葉掃難開
影蔽三冬日
陰含萬古苔
恨無柯在手
剪伐實堪哉

"On a worthless Tree." *

"In what year wast thou planted, vile tree!
Thy lofty, bare trunk, is truly good for nothing:
Thy blossoms fly aloft incessantly,
Thy falling leaves there is no sweeping away:
Thou hidest the sun during the winter months;
The shady side of thee is overrun with old moss:
Alas, that I have not an axe in my hand
To cut thee away, as thou well deservest!"

作客春將暮
飛飛花亂開
浮雲未北返
孤鴈且南迴
海響先知雨
風多不辨雷
瓊南清絕地
長嘯一徘徊

* 'Ille et nefasto te posuit die,' &c. *Horat. in Arborem*, II. 13.

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"*Written at the Capital of the Island of* Haenan."

"While here I travel, the Spring is drawing to a close,
The blossoms fly confusedly, and leave their branches:
I am a floating cloud that returns not north,
I am a solitary wild-fowl, bewildered in the south:
By the ocean's murmur, the rainy storm is approaching,
The loudness of the winds conceals the thunder's sound:
This *Keungnān* is a land clean divided from my home,
Here I breathe my long sighs, all perplexed and irresolute.'

虹亭橘畔海螺東
蘭芷羅生別作叢
芳氣自盈空谷裏
一枝飛入玉瓶中
蕭蕭孤影如良友
習習虛堂有素風
日夕馨香懷袖裏
不知心賞有誰同

"*On a sprig of Epidendrum, in a Porcelain Vase.*"

"By the side of *Hoongting* bridge, to the east of the stream *Haelo*,
There grows thickly the Epidendrum, making a grove of its own:
Its fragrant breath fills the lonely valley, [vase.
And a single sprig hath flown hither, to replenish this precious
The solitary flower finds a companion in its own shadow,
Blown by the gentle breeze that pervades my empty hall:
My sleeves are scented with its morning and evening sweets,
I know of none whose delight in it can equal mine."

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靜慨低斂淡黃衫
緊抱孤芳未許探
香口倦開檀半掩
苦心欲吐梱猶含
一枝瘦去容儀病
幾辦攢來影帶慵
不是畏寒疑不放
要留春色占江南

"*Inscribed under the Drawing of a wax-coloured* Calycanthus."
(Lămei.)

"Tranquilly bending, clothed in its vest of pale yellow,
The flower preserves, in single seclusion, its inviolate sweets:
With faintly opening mouth, its fragrance is but half exhaled,
Like some half-told sorrow, still half undisclosed.
It droops, with slender stalk, in delicate guise,
While its close petals carry all the aspect of modesty:
Deem not, that fear of the chill winds prevents it from blowing—
It reserves those vernal hues to compete with the fairest flowers
of *Keangnān*."

一梅忽作兩重芳
仔細看來覺異常
認作紅顏饒雪色
欲稱白面帶霞光
莫非殘醉微添暈
疑是初醒渟曉粧
休怪題詩難下筆
枝頭春色費商量

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"*On the Drawing of a blush-coloured Plum Blossom.*" (Meihwa.)

"One flower combines in itself all the merits of two,
While a closer examination only displays its rare charms:
Would you style it a rosy beauty—it is rich, too, in snowy hues;
Would you call it a pale one—it displays the tints of the morning sky:
It resembles some fair complexion, slightly heightened by wine—
It is like some maiden, risen fresh from sleep to her morning toilet:
Cease to wonder at the hesitation of the poet's pencil;
The loveliness of the object has dispersed his powers of thought!"

夜中不能寐
起行無所適
依然扃柴扉
孤燈坐永夕
寒蟲一何悲
唧唧鳴空壁
如將平生心
相與訴孤寂

"*Midnight Thoughts.*"

1. "'Tis the depth of night, and I cannot slumber—
I rise up and stroll without object or purpose;
I return, and again bar my humble door,
And sit by my solitary lamp until the morning—
What is the cause of lament to that cricket,
Whose monotonous note sounds from yon bare wall?
It would seem to take up the history of its life,
—To tell me of its state of solitary desertion.

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孤寂亦何苦
我行當遠役
關山去千里
蒼芒雲水錫
未知他鄉意
安忘故園戚
悠悠百年間
憂傷終難極

2. " This solitary desertion!—how bitter do I find it!
Let me then push my rovings to a distance: [hence,
Let me visit the passes and mountains a hundred leagues
Like some devotee of Budh, wandering amidst clouds and
Ignorant of what is passing elsewhere, [torrents.
How shall I forget the melancholy of my own home?
Thus dull and mournful through life's whole course,
My sorrows and pains can never have an end."

披衣起待月
待月月偏遲
儵忽峰坳出
先來樹杪時
金波何蕩漾
銀漢渺參差
直到參橫後
猶然去夢思

"*On getting up to see the Moon rise.*"

" I throw on my clothes, and wait for the Moon,
—I wait for the Moon, which rises late:
She breaks at length from behind yon hilly summit,
And first illumines the tops of the trees:
How ruffled is the surface of yon golden waves! [light:
The silver stream of the sky* displays a vague and unequal

* The milky way.

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Thus lingering until the stars of Orion *(Tsan)* have set,
I return to sleep, and dream all over again."

長老峰前青帝歸
長老峰下雨聲稀
桃花李花歷亂發
白鳥黃鳥參差飛
忽憶去年臨海寺
正當此日弄春暉
大兄小弟無消息
獨坐空山心緒微

"Written at the Commencement of Spring."

"To the front of yon old peaked hill, the sovereign of verdure (Spring) returns:
At the base of yon old peaked hill the rain is gently falling:
The peach and pear blossoms successively open and blend their hues,
The white and the yellow bird fly hither and thither:
I recollect how last year, at the monastery that overlooks the sea,
On this very day I watched the spring displaying its brightness.
No tidings have since reached me of my distant brethren:
I sit solitary in this lonely mountain, and brood over my thoughts."

天氣今年
紛紛萬物
已驚柳絮
又訝辛夷
五色翩翩
爭喧爭食
羅浮洞邊
紫玉臺口

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異昔年
各爭妍
條條長
簇簇鮮
雀亂飛
滿山扉
應常見
到亦稀

"*At the New Year.*" (February.)

1. "The climate this season excels all seasons past;
With gaily blended hues, all things in nature vie for beauty.
Already surprised by the early progress of the pendent willow sprigs,
I next admire the fresh luxuriance of the purple Magnolias.

2. Birds of every colour fly about in mingled confusion,
And with the noise of their contentious repasts fill my hilly dwelling:
The ravines of this *Lofow* mountain are their constant haunts,
They visit not in such numbers the lofty levels of *Tszeyu*.

村村門戶向山開
吉日都從此地來
山上笑聲山下應
紛紛聚響總如雷
一時鐘齋故相喧
總是清板食客繁
安得皇天能雨粟
與君日日共盤飧

3. The doors of every village are opened towards the hills,
And crowds on this festive day flock thence hither;
The notes of merriment on high are answered by like notes below,
The mingled tumult of sounds is like the distant thunder.

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4. Why do the bells and wooden instruments mingle their clamour?
—The crowded guests are assembled to partake of the lenten feast:
But sovereign heaven no longer sends its showers of grain,
To replenish, worthy friends, your diurnal repasts!" *

* The priests of Budh are assembled by the ringing of bells, &c. to their entertainments of herbs, fruits, and sweetmeats, being forbidden the use of flesh and wine. Their monasteries are in the recesses of hills wherever hills prevail, and always in the most romantic spots. The two last lines allude to the following tradition. When *Yoonglŏ* of the family called *Ming*, usurped the whole empire (A. D. 1400), one of his nephews, the proper heir, shaved his head, and assuming the habit of a priest, retired to the depths of the mountains. The living rock there opened, and poured out a constant supply of grain for the support of the royal refugee. After his death, the miracle still went on, until a covetous priest, not satisfied with the quantity of grain thus obtained, enlarged the hole or fissure in the stone through which it flowed,—when the supply immediately stopped altogether, as the proper reward of his cupidity.

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Extracts *from the* Fortunate Union.

偌大河山偌大天
萬千年又萬千年
前人過去後人續
幾個男兒是聖賢

死君自是忠臣志
憂父方成孝子心
任是人情百般厚
算來還是五倫深

Though broad th'expanse of Earth, of hill and stream
Beneath yon broader heaven—though countless years
Still follow years gone by—as rolls the tide
Of human life in endless ebb, how few
The worthies of our race !

Strong is the sovereign's claim, e'en unto death,
On his good subject's service—nor less strong
The claims primeval of paternity:
Unnumber'd though the social links that bind
Man to his fellow man, none may compete
With the *five chief relations.* *

心到亂
情當苦
漫言哭
豪傑傷

任事不
臨机全
若將血
豪傑千

---

* Prince and subject, father and son, husband and wife, brethren among each other, and friends reciprocally.

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時際泣心　　豈靠氣秋
無只爲也　　憑有雄成
是思兒淚　　大深爲鬪
處悲女垂　　胆心勇音

No resting place the troubled bosom finds,
Th' embittered soul in sighs must seek relief:
Say not that tears to women's softer mood,
Or babes alone pertain—by grief opprest
The sternest oft will weep!

'Tis fortitude's proud attribute and boast
In time of trial to be self-possest:
When danger threatens, mind is most required.
Did mere brute rage usurp the honours due
To nobler courage, long might *this* remain
Robb'd of its proper meed!

柔弱咸知是女兒
片言隱才慧有誰知
一轉飛災禍輕乜解
妙處不須聲悄移色
靈時都是嫉他用机
及到臨期悔爭又先遲

That weakness is a woman's lot, all know,
Few know a woman can sometimes be wise!

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A single word the lurking mischief quelled,
The flying fate was by a turn avoided!
No sound, no signal did her plans require,
But all succeeded in the time of trial;
While to her foes' vile schemes full play she gave,
—Schemes fraught with late repentance!

讀書須閉戶
訪道不辭遠
徧覽大小川
方能豁心眼

事拙全因利
人昏皆爲貪
漫言香餌妙
端只是魚饞

Who studies books must close his silent cell,
But wisdom's search lies farther off from home—
Explore each untried nook beneath the sky,
And fill the inlets of the mind with knowledge.

A speculation oft, through thirst inordinate
Of gain, is ruined—avarice dulls men's wit!
'Twas not sole merit of the tempting bait,
—Our greedy fish was ready to gulp all.

人生可笑
眼豎橫眉
春夢做完
秋雲散盡
天机有礙
野馬無繮
任是撥天
爭戶閏閣

走蚩匕
搃不知
猶想續
尙恩移
尖還鈍
快已遲
稱大胆
小心兒

Oh wondrous dulness to which some are prone,
Unapt to see what stares them full in view!
The spring dream fled, they still brood over it,
The autumn clouds dispers'd, they fancy still
They see them changing.—Unless heaven befriend,
The acutest become dull—The fleetest steed
Unreined, ungovern'd, spends his speed in vain. †
Adventurous though their plots, and boldly plann'd,
Lo, a weak maiden's prudence foils them all!

大道分明直
奸人曲匕行
若無貞與節
名敎豈能成

拙計似推磨
慧心如定磐
收來還放去
徧有許多般

Reason's highway is straight and plain, unlike
The crooked, devious paths of worthless men:
Did not a faultless heroine sometimes shine,
Virtue's great cause entirely would fail.

Like rolling grindstones their unsteady plots
Still changing shift—her's fixt as rocks remain!

---

† Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit.
Hor.

Now this way tend their efforts, and now that,
Devoid of settled principle.

鏡裡花枝偏要影
水中月影攢撩人
誰知費盡攀撈力
總似明河不可親
一奸未了一奸生
人世如何得太平
莫道紅顏多趺剝
鬚眉男子也難行

In the bright mirror, the flower-spangled stem
Reflected blooms—the moon's pale image lurks
In the clear wave—to mock the gazer's grasp!
Each effort vainly spent, his prey remains
Intangible, as shadows in the stream.

Scarce has one villainy been foil'd, another
Starts in its place—what peace is there for man!
Such pitfalls might a woman's weakness well
Have stumbled—trials meet for th' other sex.

眼看鬼怪
耳听雷驚
謾道落人
却從鬼裹
白骨已沉
黃花啣得
從來義俠
靜夜良心

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何却圈去　魂雀奇敢
冒不套求　結酬男不
怪驚死生　草恩女捫

The prodigies she viewed with fearless eye,
She heard the thunders with undaunted ear:
Say ye to mens' device a victim she
Must fall?—The demons own their cunning vain!

'Tis said the thankful ghost did knit the grass*
While deep in earth the white bones lay—the bird
Brought in its grateful bill the healing flower:
Fair rectitude has ever deck'd alike
Famed characters of old, of either sex.

無全皮肝風烟若千
蒂憑毛胆雨雲教古
無義指相惡長圓何
根唱摘拔賢衆俠誰
是追人者花攢方入
誰隨識爲耳眉柄時

Nor branch nor root connected them, nor aught
But their fair virtues were their bond of union:
The vulgar form a judgement from th' outside—
These by the emulous course of noble deeds
Each other knew.—Lo, as when rain and winds
Are rife, fair summer flowers their petals close,

---

* See notes to 'Fortunate Union,' vol. II. p. 250.

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Or as when misty clouds approach her orb,
The delicate moon seems to contract her brows,
So did our hero meet the paltry knave,
Whose notions with his own accorded well
As round with square!

莫 須 世 不　　滿 又 誰 蝶
認 知 間 是　　樹 從 知 悶
桃 和 多 鴛　　尋 樹 從 蜂
夭 應 少 鴦　　花 底 春 忙
便 始 河 不　　不 覓 鄰 摠
好 睢 洲 並　　見 根 家 是
速 雌 鳥 頭　　花 芽 好 差

Say ye the peach blossoms are blown,* and ask
What stops the bridal?—know the birds must pair
Or willingly, or never—swarms of fowl
Flit round the river islet, but none wed
Save kind with kind.

All vainly do the winged insects ply
Their active toil—now on the topmost boughs
They search for flowers; now, glancing quick, descend!
All vainly—for the spring its blooming gifts
Denies them, and the gaudy butterfly
Frets idly—idly frets the busy bee.

---

* Allusions to two or three odes in the Sheeking.—'The season of peach blossons.' poetically means spring, or that of marriage.—'The river islet birds' are figurative of persons about to be wedded.

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熱心雖一片　徬徨無已時
中有萬千思　不到相安處
英俊多餘勇　佳人有俏心
顧爲知已用　一用一番深

Though small the heart that in another's cause
Grows warm, it is a world of busy thought:
Denied repose, its energies it wastes
In endless musings.

Abundant resolution arms the hero,
And cautious wisdom is the maiden's guard:
Each aids the other when occasion calls,
And each kind deed lends strictness to the tie.

關雎須要傍河洲　空勞萬里問佘裯
展轉方成君子求　若是三星不相照
鐵石体難改　桂姜性不移
英雄寧可死　決不受人欺

'Twixt kindred natures only may be sought
Fit union, compassed oft with utmost toil:
While the Three stars deny their rays benign,
All vainly is the distant suit preferr'd.

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Hard task, to make imprint on stedfast rock,
Or stubborn iron bend—Hard task to strive
'Gainst sternest natures! Rather than endure [come.
Th' oppressor's wrong, e'en death the brave would wel-

寃家初結時
只道占便宜
不料多翻覆
臨頭悔是遲

來因看衛玠
去爲問羅敷
欲遂客家願
多勞父母圖

To feed his selfish spleen did he annoy
His nobler foe—But each vicissitude
Of fate's incalculable maze once past,
Too late repentance was the meed he earn'd!

He came, to see the pattern of his age;
To question the most gifted of her sex,
Returned he—anxious thus, and full of toil,
The care of those who scheme their offspring's good.

君子喜尋名教樂
淑人遠避獸禽身
守貞月老難爲主
持正風流是罪人

烈烈者眞性
般般者柔情
調乎情與性
名與敎方成

In the glad path of rectitude persists
The hero—Equal scruples arm the maid:
O'er such the old * inhabitant o' th' moon
Remits his power—to such the liberty
Of some seems license.

With nature stedfast in the cause of right,
Her gentle nature ever was alive
To soft impressions—Blending thus together
The warmth of passion with the rigid rule
Of principle, she shone example bright
Of rarest excellence.

好事不容君子做
陰情偏是小人多
世謀叵測眞無法
人事如斯可奈何

父命隱未出
女心已先知
有如春欲至
梅發向南枝

'Tis seldom that the worthy unopposed
May work their will, so numerous are the plots
O' th' mean and base—Unmanageable thus
While human tempers, nought may mend the evil,
While men are such, all remedies must fail.

---

* 'The old man of the moon' —the Chinese god of marriage, who ties together, with an invisible silken cord, all predestined couples.

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While yet in silence lay the father's wish,
The daughter's heart did all anticipate—
So, ere the spring arrives, its distant influence
Draws forth the buds towards the sunny south!

花難並蒂月難完
野蔓閒藤苦纏
須是兩心無苦
始成名教好姻
緣作

Rare is the union of two fairest flowers
On the same stem—Some cloud must ever dim
The moon's full brightness!—Tangled briar and thorn
Beset their path perplexed, and free from blame
Must either be, ere they consent to wed,
—This matchless pair.

合合卺如何不合歡
合而不合合而安
有人識得其中妙
始覺聖人名教寬

In form united, what was there to bar
Their perfect union?—Wedded or unwed
All tranquil was their course, and none but such,
As estimate their motives rightly, know
The wisdom of the inspired of old.

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剛到無加柔至矣
柔而不屈是眞剛
若思何物剛柔並
惟有人間流水當

美惡由來看面皮
誰從心性辨妍媸
箇中冷煖身難問
此際酸甜舌不知

When force has reached its limit, it becomes
Weakness confest—the firmness that retires,
Yet yields not, is of all the most enduring.
Seek ye an emblem of this quality,
The watery element is fittest found.

'Tis by the surface only that the crowd
Admire or blame; few from the heart and mind
Conclusions draw — Their hidden cold or warmth
Is hardly palpable—their latent sweets or sours
No taste can try.

試問妬何爲
摠是心腸壞
明將好事磨
暗暗稱奇快

醜人不自思
專要出醜來
及自弄出家
還自有

Seek a new name for envy, and 'twill prove
'The heart's depravity'—The envious strive

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To frustrate what is good, and mischief love
With secret exultation.

Unmindful of their own deformities
The base would bring another's faults to view;
But, when the period of discovery comes,
The shame doth all revert upon themselves.

三番花燭始于歸
表正人倫是與非
坐破貞懷惟自信
閉牢心戶許誰依
美將足繫紅絲美
禮作車迎金瞶肥
謾道一時風化正
千秋名教有光輝

The bridal thrice repeated, they became
Wedded at last, and through them were displayed
The social duties in each varied form:
Integrity was their's, and well-placed trust;
Their secret confidence had none partaken—
Virtue had been their silken bond of union,
And natural sense of fitness well supplied
Th' absence of forms conventional.—Say not
Through them the sacred cause but once did shine,
—It gather'd lustre for a thousand years!

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EMBASSY TO PEKING,

1816.

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EXTRACTS

FROM

AN UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF THE EMBASSY

TO

PEKING,

1816.

AUGUST 11th. Proceeding rapidly along the Pei-ho, on our way to the Capital. Neither of the Mandarins, our conductors, shew the least attention in visiting the Ambassador at our occasional places of stoppage, a mark of civility which we had been led to expect from the accounts of the last Mission. From whatever cause it may arise, (I suppose we shall find out in due time,) there seems to be a decided ill-will towards us.

Our near approach to Tien-tsin must soon bring the question of ceremonials into discussion, and it will no doubt be proposed to the Ambassador to make the nine prostrations before the Emperor's imagined presence. There cannot, I should suppose, be two opinions on this subject. The most

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determined and unconditional refusal seems absolutely necessary. My own persuasion (founded on the import which the Ko-tow bears among the Chinese themselves) is, that even before the Emperor himself such an act of homage should be considered as impossible from the representative of our Sovereign. Similar reasons lead me to wish that the inscription Koong-she, "*Tribute Bearer*," had not been allowed to be suspended from the mast of the Ambassador's own Yacht. The Chinese histories observe of the conduct of an Emperor of the Soong Dynasty, who concluded a peace with the Tartars on disgraceful terms, that "he shamefully made use, in the Treaty, of the word 貢 Koong, Tribute." We might perhaps have insisted on this flag being taken down, and our own put in its place, without making the propriety of the inscription a matter of debate. There would have been an appearance of reason in this proposition, which the Chinese might have found it difficult to object against, for our own flag would have been as good a mark for the boat as theirs, if not a better. Moreover, if we are not to knock-head at last, it would be more consistent with such a line of policy, because "*Tribute Bearers*," have hardly any pretensions to such nice scruples.

It appears, however, that the Ambassador has received it in his instructions from our Government to consider the matter entirely as a question of expediency, with full authority to comply, should compliance be calculated to attain the

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objects of the mission. I am persuaded that, instead of gaining any points by such a measure, we should only become contemptible in the eyes of the Chinese, and in fact do ourselves more harm than good. Witness the Dutch Embassy! As far as personal feelings are concerned, the Ambassador must no doubt be very averse from compliance, but with the authority from home to yield the point, rather than make it the ground of a rupture, there is no saying what may happen. It never could have been intended, however, that he should do so unconditionally, that is, without securing at least some of those important points, which are reserved as the subjects of negociation. Were we to have an audience of the Emperor, and to do homage before bringing any of these subjects on the carpet, it would be the easiest thing in the world for the Government of Peking to send us off afterwards at a moment's notice, telling us that we had now finished all that we came about. Reserved and unfriendly, not to say rude, as the behaviour of our conductors has hitherto been, one is inclined to anticipate the worst; and there seems so little prospect of succeeding in any thing, that it may be a question whether the point of ceremony would not be the best to break off upon, because it would involve no article of ulterior negociation, and might be a good way of asserting our independence, without making other matters worse than they were before.

It is curious to observe the difference between the

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instructions received from the Government, and those emanating from the Company. The former imply, that we go simply in search of what we can pick up, and that we must regard the performance of the ceremony merely as an affair of profit or loss. The others say, "You should have most regard to the effect that the Embassy is to produce at Canton; you must complain of the conduct of the local authorities to our trade; and you must make no concessions, in point of ceremony or reception, which are calculated materially to diminish the national respectability of the English at that place." Now as the welfare of the Company's trade is really the only object of the Embassy, we may conclude that the Company are the most likely to give the best advice on the occasion, because their reasonings and instructions are founded on their own knowledge and experience. Distant as Peking is from the seat of our Trade, the effect of the Embassy at Canton is of more importance than its mere nominal reception at Peking, and less is to be gained by a servile compliance with the demands of the Imperial Government (which, as in the case of the Dutch, would only aggravate our ill-treatment) than by a manly appeal to the justice of the Emperor against the insolence and extortions of his officers at Canton, and by a decent maintenance of our national independence. The Chinese are so ignorant and illiberal a people, that their good opinion, and consequent good treatment, of us are not to be gained by undue concessions in essential points. These they

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always look upon as necessary acts of deference to their immense superiority, and therefore nothing extraordinary; while a contrary line of conduct, tending to dispel these absurd illusions, causes them to consider us on a footing of greater equality. At the same time, nothing but the grossest stupidity and wrong-headedness would ever, in the first instance, withhold from them that conciliatory tone of demeanour and language, a failing in which places us on a level with those we condemn, and shakes those pretensions to superior civilization which we are always so ready to advance.

12th. At about 4 P. M. we reached the suburbs of Tien-tsin, and could perceive the large heaps of Salt, at some distance, together with a vast concourse of people, prepared to stare at us. This City, from its great trade in Salt, from being the entrepôt for all the grain that is brought northward for the consumption of the Capital, and from its constituting a sort of *trivium*, or point of confluence for the three channels leading from Peking, from the Sea, and the Grand Canal, is one of the very largest in the Empire. The crowd was really astonishing, and presented the most numerous collection of human creatures I had ever seen in one place. Many very well-dressed people were to be seen; and others, particularly the boys, stark naked. The Thermometer in our Boat stood at 87 °, but still the people on the banks remained generally without any covering over their heads. Soldiers were arrayed along the shore in companies of thirty

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men each, *longis intervallis*, with flags or pendants between each company. Some few had matchlocks, but the greatest number nothing but swords, with bows and arrows. One or two companies (probably the *élite*) were muffled up in a yellow dress, striped to imitate a tiger's hide; but it was agreed that they looked more like old ladies prepared against the night air, then either soldiers or tigers.

On our reaching the landing place, nearly opposite to the public Hall where SooTa-jin, and the Legate were waiting, a message arrived to say that they would visit the Ambassador in his boat; but some time after, a desire was expressed that he should first go to see them. To this his Lordship replied, that, being the guest, he must expect to receive the first visit, and that he should be happy to see them whenever it was most convenient. They then sent a message, requesting to see two other Gentlemen of the suite and myself. We accordingly went after dinner, and were received in state. From our boat to the Hall the road was spread with mats. Upon our entrance, SooTa-jin, and the Legate rose up, and after conversing some time in this manner the whole party sat down. They requested us to sit to the left, the place of honor: but we took our seats to the right. The Legate was the most talkative and active man of the two. His associate, SooTa-jin, must in fact be very aged, as he was Hoppo of Canton at the period of the last Embassy.

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They commenced in the usual strain, about the high favor with which their Great Emperor viewed all persons coming from so vast a distance to pay their respects to him. They then said, that as we must certainly be in a great hurry to get back to our country, our stay at Peking should be as short as possible. To this it was answered, that as we had come so far, a repose of a month or two became almost necessary, and that we could not consider such a hurried dismissal, as the one proposed, to be quite consonant with that hospitality which the representatives of one great nation should expect at the hands of another. They hinted at our proceeding on our journey tomorrow, but this we declared to be physically impossible, as the whole of our baggage remained to be unshipped from the Junks into the Boats. The Legate observed that, in the last Embassy, the King's Letter had been shewn at this place. Against this it was contended that Jĕ-ho, (Zhehol), was the place where it was opened. They asked a great many questions about the Ambassador's son, as well as concerning the respective ranks of the persons in the Suite. A point of objection occurred in the expression Peih-teih-she, adopted for the Chinese Secretaries, and Tae-peih, or Yĕ-seng, was proposed instead. We then took our leave, and reported to his Lordship that the two Tajins were coming to visit him immediately. They soon after arrived, and were received by the Ambassador and two Commissioners. The result of the interview is, that the whole

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of the embassy are to attend in full dress at an Imperial entertainment tomorrow.

13th. At nine this morning, Sedan Chairs were assembled on the shore for the Ambassador and his Suite; and immense crowds lined the river, as well as the Streets through which we were to pass. The body-guard with their colours were drawn up in front of the boats, by Lieutenants Cooke and Somerset. Every thing being ready, we proceeded to the place of audience in procession, the band and guard leading the way with the two officers on horseback, followed by the Ambassador, the commissioners, and the whole suite in Chairs, each carried by four bearers in dress caps. The Streets through which we passed to the audience Hall, a distance of about a mile, were crowded to excess, and yet the silence and respect of the populace was so great that we could almost have heard a pin drop. This formed a remarkable contrast with the conduct of the rabble at Canton. How is it that Europeans in China are less respected the better they are known?

When we came to the end of our journey, the whole party alighted, and going through an outer Court lined with Chinese Soldiers, chiefly bow-men, entered the Great Hall, where the imagined presence of the Emperor resided! This is just such adulation as the Romans and provincials paid to Augustus and his successors, who had altars raised to them throughout the Empire. A very large concourse of Mandarins of rank, with their attendants, filled the room. At the

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farther end were arranged the presents which were to be given to us, as from the Emperor himself; and, near the door at which we entered, was erected a stage for the performance of certain theatrical entertainments, got up for our amusement. On the ground, and in front of the altar and yellow curtain, where the Emperor's presence was supposed to reside, they had laid small red carpets in rows, and on my first entrance I at once guessed what was the intention of these. Some Mandarins soon confirmed my suspicions by coming up and requesting me very politely to inform the Gentlemen of the Suite of the places where they were to perform the 'nine prostrations.' Di immortales!—I said nothing; but looked as if I did not understand them.

The Ambassador and Commissioners in the mean while were having a very interesting conference with SooTa-jin, and the Legate within, and there could be no doubt as to the subject of it. On their being seated, the Legate, after some general conversation, introduced the subject of the ceremony. The Ambassador expressed his readiness to evince his respect for the Emperor of China by paying him the same obeisance that he was accustomed to perform to his own Sovereign, and the same that Lord Macartney had performed, viz. kneeling on one knee. To this the Mandarins immediately replied, by asserting roundly that the last Ambassador had performed the prostrations! They must have quoted the last Edition of the Imperial annals, published by authority, 'prioribus auctior et emendatior,' or rather, *eo mendacior.*

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His Lordship, however, informed them, very civilly, that we could not possibly be under any mistake on a point of such importance, concerning which the most faithful records had been preserved: and when they perceived that nothing was to be gained in an honest way, they began to enquire respecting the ceremony which he performed to his own Sovereign, and requested him to practice it. His Excellency observed that it was not a thing to be trifled with: but a happy thought struck the second Commissioner, viz. that the Ambassador's son might perform it before his father, by way of exemplification. This was immediately done, and the Mandarins seemed highly pleased with it, as it tallied so well with the notions of their own country respecting the demeanour of a son to his parents. The conversation then reverted to its former channel, the Mandarins insisting on the necessity of the Tartar ceremony. The Ambassador declared, that whatever his respect for the Emperor might induce him to do in his presence, it was impossible for him to perform such a ceremony before the curtain: but that he would go so far as to bow to it, a mark of respect which he was accustomed to pay to the vacant throne of his own Sovereign. The Legate was at first violently against this, and began to talk about the loss which his Excellency would sustain in missing the favors that the Emperor intended for himself and for his son, appealing to his feelings as a father &c. &c. This was all very fine, and quite *à la Chinoise*. His Lordship replied, that he must not forget his duty, however great might be his desire to please

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the Emperor: and that if they would not accept his proffered respect, he must decline the honor of the feast intended for him. They were astounded at this, but it served at length to induce their acquiescence.

After being closetted for a considerable time, the Ambassador and two Commissioners came out, and his Lordship informed the gentlemen of his suite, that he was going to perform the same salutation of respect before the curtain, as he was accustomed to make to the vacant throne of his Sovereign in the house of Lords. We were directed to keep our eyes on the Ambassador, and to do exactly as he did, neither more nor less in the least respect. At the voice of a crier, the two imperial Commissioners fell prostrate three times, and each time thrice struck the ground with their heads,—a cranio-verberative sound being audible amidst the deep silence which prevailed around. The Ambassador and his suite, standig erect in the mean while, made nine bows. We thus far got very well over the ground, without doing that which no representatives of *Chinese* majesty ever condescended to do to a foreigner, until Genghis Khan first *made* them. The Chinese here conceded to us the point on which they broke off with Count Golovkin, the Russian Ambassador, although they yielded it to Lord Macartney.

When the ceremony was over, the feast was brought in, and the theatrical entertainments commenced. SooTa-jin and the Legate sat to the left, on an elevation of one step; and the Ambassador, his son, and the two Commissioners, on the same

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elevation to the right. The other Chinese grandees sat on the left, a little below SooTa-jin and the Legate; and the Gentlemen of the Embassy to the right, below his Lordship and the Commissioners. The whole party sat cross-legged on cushions, with sartorial precision, but the Mandarins, being bred to the trade, of course had the advantage of us. Our dinner consisted of the usual Chinese delicacies, as birds-nests, sharks-fins, deer's tendons, &c. and, without lasting long in point of time, was protracted *usque ad nauseam*.

The music was infernal, and might have roused Satan and his legions from the sulphurous lake. Some pyrotechnic monsters, breathing fire and smoke, were among the dramatis personæ; but they fell far short of creatures of the same genus, described by some traveller in Portugal, who observed them in a *religious* procession at Lisbon, viz. two Lions, which first of all spat fire at each other, and then *made* fire at each other, and then turned tail and bombarded each other with fire, until the combustibles were exhausted. By far the best part of the entertainment was the tumbling, really superior in its kind. The strength and activity of one man were particularly eminent. Leaping from the ground, he performed a somerset in the air backwards, and, after the first effort, continued to revolve round in this manner with such velocity, that his head and feet, the extremities of revolution, were scarcely discernible. When the feast was over, another short conference took place, and we returned to our boats as before.

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14th. August. Left Tien-tsin early this morning. The country differs but little in appearance from where we first entered it, and continues to spread, within the limited range of our vision, in one continued flat, evidently the *alluvies*, time out of mind, from the high mountains to the northward and westward. The Kaou-leang, or tall millet, seems to be the principal object of cultivation. What most drew our attention, however, were the vast numbers of Grain junks along the southern bank of the river. From about noon till late at night we sailed rapidly past an unbroken string of these, which were moored in a regular manner, with their heads to the shore, and close to each other; the stern of every Junk resting upon the side of the one immediately next to it down the stream. We ascertained that each of them carried 2,500 peculs of grain, or about 150 Tons. I could not help reflecting how easy it would be for an enemy to set fire, when the wind served, to the junks at the extremity of the line, and thus starve the Capital.

At 8 P. M. the attendant Mandarin of our boat (whose name is *New*, or "Cow," and whose cap is decorated with a gilt ball) came to announce that the Imperial Legates were on their way to visit the Ambassador and Commissioners in their respective boats. They talked a little on business, but the principal part of their conversation was of a complimentary and general nature. The second Commissioner shewed them the yellow purse which he had received from the present

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Emperor's father in the last Embassy. SooTa-jin, or Soo-she-lang, a Member of one of the Tribunals, is a fine old man, aged upwards of eighty, of a pleasant countenance and mild manners. His advanced age, of course, renders him less alert and talkative than KwongTa-jin; but he has evidently as noble a disdain, when it serves his turn, for the troublesome punctilios of truth as most other Chinese, for he positively insisted on a personal recollection of the prostration having been performed by Lord Macartney before the Emperor!—Kwong is considerably younger than his colleague, very thin and emaciated in person. He is constantly on the look out to observe the changes in the countenances of those he is conversing with; but, though a physiognomist as regards others, he does not govern his own looks very well. He possesses a penetrating eye, however, and appears to be a man of ability. The former of these personages wears a plain coral ball on his cap; the latter a crystal one.

15th. At seven o'clock in the evening, a conference took place on board the Ambassador's boat. The two Imperial Legates said that they had just now, for the first time, heard of the departure of our Ships from the Yellow Sea: that on the 19th. of the moon, provisions had been ordered to the squadron, and that when the boats proceeded to the anchorage, the ships were not to be seen. The Mandarins expressed the utmost astonishment and concern at this event, and asked why his Excellency had not apprised them of it. His Lordship very naturally replied, that in the last Embassy the Ships had sailed

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on the second day after the disembarkation, and that he had conceived it quite superfluous to speak to them on a subject so obvious, as the necessity for the Ships leaving an exposed and dangerous anchorage, where they were within a few feet of being aground at low water. He added, that they had never asked him any questions, on their part, touching this subject. They, however, insisted that they had, and KwongTa-jin, losing his temper, turned to Mr. M.——the principal interpreter, and accused him of having mis-interpreted his words. The latter very properly replied that, if such were the case, he had rather not interpret any more; and his Excellency at the same time requested the second Commissioner to declare to the Legates, that he considered such behaviour on their parts very indecorous, and personally offensive to himself. They began on this to recover themselves, and requested that they might be furnished with a written document in their own exculpation, which was agreed to.

16th. We were aroused at half past five in the morning, with the intelligence that the Legates were coming to pay separate visits to the Ambassador and Commissioners. It turned out, however, that they went only on board the Ambassador's boat. First came Chang and YinTa-jin, and then Soo and Kwong; and a very long and earnest conference took place respecting the performance of the ceremony. They began by proposing the alternative of "yes" or "no," but the tables were altogether turned upon them by his Excellency declaring

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that it was his fixed determination to go back, rather than submit unconditionally to a ceremonial which had not been undergone by Lord Macartney. It would seem that an answer had arrived yesterday from Peking to the report sent up of the transactions at Tien-tsin; and that the Emperor, far from being satisfied with our performances there, expects full compliance at Court.

The Ambassador, in order to shew his disposition to meet the Chinese half way, proposed two conditions, on either of which he was not unwilling to perform the Tartar ceremony. First, the proposal made by Lord Macartney, viz. that a Chinese of equal rank with himself should perform the prostration before the portrait of the King of England; or, secondly, that a written assurance should be given on the part of the Emperor, declaring, that in case of an Ambassador proceeding on his part to Great Britain, he would be bound to pay a corresponding mark of respect to our Sovereign. Of course, the only intention of either was to remove, from the act of prostration, all idea of unequal homage. We are to drop a little way down the river to a better place of anchorage, and there wait for an answer from Peking; all farther conference being apparently at an end until that ultimatum arrives.

17th Chang and Yin came to the Ambassador's boat. No farther communication has been received from Peking; but the negociation seems again to be opened, and the boats are to get under weigh for Tung-chow. It is most probable that,

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determined not to dispense with the prostration, the Mandarins are instructed to conduct us to that place, in order that the last attempt may be made to induce our compliance, before we are finally dismissed. It may, however, be the case, that the Emperor is disposed to give in, and that he merely delays his assent, for the sake of avoiding too sudden a concession. Under the latter supposition, we are on the high road to Court: but under the former, we are not likely to get there, for the Ambassador, having once determined on his line of conduct, cannot very well depart from it. It seems that two other Mandarins, of still higher rank, are to meet us at Tung-chow, which proves, beyond a doubt, that the behaviour of our present conductors has been condemned, and that they are in disgrace for not managing us better. I am persuaded they are now anxious to hurry us to Tung-chow, in order that the failure of the new Deputies (for they begin at last to understand us) may serve to exculpate them.

20th. At about three o' Clock in the afternoon, the increasing numbers of junks on the water, and of buildings on shore, gave notice of our approach to Tung-chow, and we soon came to an anchor, as high up as the river would permit, for it is not navigable above this place. At half past five, some soldiers appeared drawn up on the left bank, and the usual salutes were fired. This place seems incalculably inferior to Tien-tsin, and the crowds were by no means remarkable. Soon after our arrival, the Ambassador and Commis-

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sioners proceeded to visit Soo and KwongTa-jin; but this conference threw not the least light on our affairs. The two Mandarins made no mention of the new deputies, but proposed that the Ambassador should go on shore for the sake of a day or two's rest. Neither did they introduce the subject of ceremony, probably seeing no prospect of altering the determination already made; but on his Excellency repeating that the precedent of Lord Macartney would be the rule of his conduct on this point, and reiterating the two conditions, on either of which he would perform the ceremony, Kwong answered, like a true Chinese, that, in the first place, the fact of Lord Macartney not having performed the ceremony was by no means universally admitted; and secondly, that the mere circumstance of such high officers as Soo and himself being sent to meet us, disproved the idea of our country being considered as a dependent state. He once had the impudence to hint, that our duty to our Sovereign need be no impediment to performing the ceremony, because the Ambassador on his return might make what report he pleased: but His Lordship reminded this scrupulous gentleman, that even supposing he could be capable of such an act of baseness, there were plenty of witnesses with him, who would tell the truth.

21st. At about 2 P. M, ChangTa-jin, and another, whom we call the Secretary, came to our Koong-kwan, or hotel de l'ambassade, merely to announce that the two new Commissioners had arrived, and that the first of them was Ho Koong-

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yay, a nobleman of the first order, and brother-in-law to the Emperor, but not possessing any official situation in the Government; the second, MooTa-jin, president of the board of ceremonies. These Commissioners, it was added, had only just arrived, and we might not see them till tomorrow. In the midst of dinner, it was first announced that six imperial commissioners were coming to his Lordship this afternoon, namely Ho and Moo,—Soo and Kwong,—and two others. Soon after, news was brought that these were *not* coming, but six persons of such high rank that Chang, who delivered the message, said he could not sit in their presence! This really sounded very formidable, and it was quite right that we should be duly prepared for such "celestial colloquy sublime." His Excellency accordingly adjourned to the Hall of audience, with a portion of his suite, and on their arrival within the Court, the second and third Commissioners went some steps forward to receive our visitors, while the Ambassador remained within the door. We all stood aghast, however, when this half dozen of savages rushed past us without so much as a look, and proceeding to seize the six highest places, seated themselves at once. The Ambassador with great presence of mind, completely out-manœuvred them, by taking the principal seat at the other end of the room, while we ranged ourselves on his left and right. They began, after a pause, by asking in a haughty tone who was the Ambassador?—and on being informed, declared that they were come

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to speak about the ceremony, and that the Ambassador was expected to perform it tomorrow before the Emperor's shrine. His Excellency replied, with at least equal haughtiness, that he had not the least intention to confer with them on the subject, but should defer it until he saw the Imperial Commissioners. They at first pretended not to understand, and added, that the ceremonies of the Celestial Empire were of high importance. On his Lordship's answer being reiterated in a still louder voice, they bounced up, and strutted out of the room in such an exceeding heroi-comical fashion, as could never be duly appreciated without being seen. We kept our seats in the mean while, and, when the surprise of so grotesque a piece of diplomacy had passed off, made ourselves merry at the expense of these "lads of Mougden" who were evidently sent for the purpose of frightening us!—A compliance on our part under present circumstances seems impossible; still there remains some hope that the Emperor may accept our terms, and these fellows were perhaps sent partly with a view to gaining time. On the other hand, it may so happen, that determined to dismiss us if we do *not* comply, the imperial commissioners were unwilling to receive the Ambassador's final refusal in person, and tried the above experiment as a *dernier ressort*. Tomorrow will go far towards clearing up this point.

In the evening, Chang and Yin made their appearance, and begged that the Ambassador and two Commissioners, at

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least, would sleep in our dwelling on shore, as they had reported the same to the Emperor, and would be accused of lying, did his Lordship pass the night on board—for, said they, "the Emperor has very long ears." We were, of course, too polite to contest the application of this asinine attribute. The Ambassador said, that he had never made them any promise of sleeping at all on shore at this place, and indeed could not possibly do so to night, as none of his furniture was out of the boats; but agreed to accede to their wishes so far as to sleep on shore tomorrow night. With this they were satisfied, and expressed their gratitude in an humble manner. His Lordship took occasion to complain of the unmannerly conduct of the six lads of Mougden. Chang and Yin, however, laughed it off in the usual Chinese style, and said they had not understood the respect due to the Ambassador. The matter was upon the whole considered as too absurd to deserve much being said about it, and the Mandarins soon after walked with us down to our boats, whither we were proceeding to pass the night.

22nd. Chang and Yin, after breakfast this morning, gave notice that the Duke (as we call *Ho Koong-yay*) and Moo Ta-jin were coming. Afterwards, however, they announced that it was the wish of these persons that the Ambassador should proceed to the City to see them. It being demanded, on our part, whether we should be required to practice the ceremony, assurances were given that nothing of the kind was in contemplation, but that the audience was to be merely of a private nature. The

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next enquiry was as to the mode of our conveyance; and when they replied that horses and tilted carts could be provided, but that, so near to Peking, it was not allowable to go in chairs, His Lordship declared that he could not think of going in any conveyance *but* a chair. Five chairs were at length obtained, while the remainder of the party proceeded, either on horseback, or in carriages of the country.

It rained violently for some time before we started, and when there appeared to be no prospect of its abatement, we set out at one o' clock, the guard and band being left behind on account of the wetness of the weather. The first part of our course lay through a very bad road leading to the City, the chair-bearers sinking occasionally up to their knees in puddles, and the sharp wheels of the little tilted carts cutting deeper into the ruts, already deep enough. Those who were in the latter vehicles were so shaken, that they all agreed they should not soon forget it. After proceeding about a mile and a half, we reached the City gates, and were much struck by the appearance of the walls, in height about thirty feet, and very well built of blue brick. They were, however, old and evidently in decay: but would make a good defence against an enemy armed, like the Chinese, with bows and arrows, or matchlocks. We passed through two gateways, the one lying behind the other, as the wall in this place was doubled for the sake of greater security. No guns were to be seen, except three or four without carriages, and of a rude cast, lying near the gate. The

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town is built upon a part of the immense flat which extends from Peking eastward to the Sea, the piles of salt at Tien-tsin being really the highest hills we have met with since our landing. The appearance of the town's interior miserably disappointed us, the streets being very narrow, paved only here and there, and more rough and muddy than the road. The shops were all built open, as in most Asiatic towns, notwithstanding the rigor of the winter, which must here be very severe. I thought I could perceive, *en passant*, something very like a flayed cat, hanging by the heels. How different the destinies of the Feline tribe in different ages and countries! In ancient Egypt they were worshipped and embalmed; in China they are skinned and eaten; while, with us, they solace superannuated maidens and catch mice. It may be prejudice, but the latter arrangement seems the best of the three.

On our arrival at the place of audience, a mean, dirty looking house, with the roof overgrown with grass, his Excellency found the two Imperial Commissioners prepared to receive him without chairs, and all parties remained standing during the audience. This sufficiently shewed the disposition of the Duke; but as he purchased the Ambassador's standing at the expense of his *own*, it did not so much signify. He began, in a very loud and disturbed voice, by saying that the Ceremonies of the Celestial Empire were indispensable, and that what Lord Macartney had done, even admitting the prostrations were dispensed with in his case,

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was to form no part of the question. That, since some of us had read their books, we must know there is but one Sun in the Heavens, and but one Emperor on Earth;* that he was lord of Great-Britain and of all other countries;—and, in short, that if we did not perform the prostration, we must be sent back. He accompanied this last flourish with a very magnificent wave of the arm, while his lips quivered with rage. Let any body question the real import of the prostration after this!

The Ambassador repeated, with the utmost temper, all that he had so often before said to Soo and Kwong, and concluded by drawing from under his robe a letter, which he had prepared for the Emperor, full of expressions of respect for His Majesty, and of the satisfaction he should have in doing any thing to please him, consistently with his duty to his own Sovereign. This took Duke Ho completely by surprise. He merely observed that the letter was sealed, and asked if it was the Ambassador's seal. No objection was made as to forwarding it, and the Duke became on a sudden more gracious in his manner, accompanying His Lordship as far as the door on his return. The letter may pro-

* He probably referred to an incident in the history of the Soong Dynasty. The Chinese Emperor being taken prisoner by the Tartars, with his principal Minister, the latter exclaimed 天無二日地無二皇 "Heaven cannot have two Suns, nor Earth two Emperors"—and so saying killed himself in despair.

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bably have a good effect on the Emperor's mind, and afford him a pretext, by it's respectful tenor, for complying with our terms. If, however, it does not prevail on him to receive us, it may at least insure the Embassy civil treatment on it's return, and allow us to part pretty good friends.

24th. August. A message was received this morning, that the address to the Emperor will not be delivered unless we agree to perform the Tartar ceremony; while it is acknowledged, at the same time, that there is nothing objectionable in the wording of the document. Their excuse for opening the letter, viz. that it was superscribed "From the British Ambassador"—without the addition of his name, would hardly have served any where but in China. Chang Ta-jin, it is said, is to leave us, in order to make enquiries after our Ships and this (supposing that it be not a mere *ruse*) would argue a disposition to reject our terms.

I must own I feel a great degree of indifference as to whether we advance or return, for little can be gained or lost, as matters now stand, in either case. If we proceed, we shall certainly be hurried off in the same ungracious manner with all other embassies: if we return, it will at least be impossible for the Court of Peking to conceal the occasion of our return, viz. our refusal to do homage as vassals and dependents, and this I hold to be a positive advantage. I lay little stress on the apprehensions of those who think that the consequent ill-will of the Emperor may have a prejudicial

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effect on our trade at Canton. The trade will support itself by its own merits, and by its importance to that province, at least: and I am as much as ever convinced that the mere complacency of the Court of Peking, (for what may be termed its substantial good-will towards us can never be obtained by acts of implicit submission) is of less real importance to the welfare of the Trade, than the vindication of our national independence in the eyes of the Canton government, with which we are immediately concerned. This view of the case, however, is of course grounded on the pre-supposition (or rather experience) of the utter impracticability, by any means of submission whatever, of effecting good, or of establishing a permanent channel of direct intercourse with Peking.

A very improper message was brought this forenoon by Chang from his superiors, stating that private information had been obtained through an *E-kwan*, or "barbarian officer" of Macao (whom it requires no divination to guess) that a large proportion of the Embassy consisted of persons engaged in trade; that the second commissioner had amassed an immense fortune, and possessed a fine house and gardens at Macao; and that he had *purchased* his situation, to which he had no proper title! It was though absolutely necessary to stop any thing of this kind at the beginning, and his Lordship sent word, that whoever had been appointed by the government of Great-Britain to the different situations in the Embassy, must be considered as the most proper and fit per-

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persons, desiring, at the same time, that he might have no more messages on this subject. From the known unfriendliness of the Government, as well as from the evident coolness of our first reception, it may be inferred that this species of under-plot has been some time in operation, although not brought forward until the present moment. Chang was this day informed, that the letters for Captain Maxwell would be prepared immediately, and he was at the same time requested to state to his superiors, that should the Emperor he determined not to receive the Ambassador, His Excellency wished to spend no more time at this place, but begged to be allowed to depart as soon as possible.

25th. It was understood this morning that the presents would be received at all events, an arrangement which in every respect is desirable. A sight was privately obtained, in the course of the day, of the report from the Viceroy of Canton, concerning the appointment of the second Commissioner of Embassy, "on account of his knowledge of the ceremonies" of the Chinese Court. It was observed, in the same document, that he was not the only foreigner who understood Chinese, but that several other persons who accompanied him, (mentioning their names) were also acquainted with the language; and it was farther hinted, that apprehensions might be entertained of their combining with "wicked natives" to do mischief, with a recommendation that care should be taken to prevent the same.

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26th. It was determined this morning to write formally to the Duke, intimating, that as he had not communicated the Ambassador's address to the Emperor, his Lordship conceived that he had nothing more to do at Tung-chow, and therefore requested Ho Koong-yay to inform him of the Emperor's pleasure concerning our return to our own country. The letter being prepared, and translated by myself, the private Secretary and I proceeded to acquaint ChangTa-jin that we were commissioned by his Lordship to convey the letter formally to Ho, and requested that he would inform the Duke of our coming. He replied, that he could not do this without knowing the contents of the packet: but when his Lordship gave a peremptory refusal to this improper request, he said that he would carry the information to the Duke, while we waited to hear from him before we set out.

Upon the arrival of his messenger we proceeded on horseback, attended by our English servants, and, on reaching the place, were shewn into a small ante-room where some well-dressed Mandarins sat in waiting. I intimated our wish to see ChangTa-jin, and on his entrance informed him that, as we were commissioned merely to deliver the letter, it was not material that we should have an audience of the Duke. The packet was accordingly handed in due form to one of the numerous Mandarins there assembled, and an answer soon returned from Ho, that he would shortly communicate whatever he had to say to the Ambassador.

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In the evening, a civil message came from the Duke to say, that he should be glad to see his Excellency in a friendly way to-morrow, if he would pay him a visit. An answer was returned through Chang, accepting the invitation, and it was added that the Ambassador would be accompanied by the two Commissioners, his son, and three other gentlemen. There is a complete alteration of style in the Duke's message, when it is compared with his recent behaviour to us. He seems, then, to have discovered that the bullying system will not answer, and is perhaps disposed to try what a contrary plan may effect. Heaven defend us from the

——— "*Conditionibus*
Fœdis, et exemplo trahenti
Perniciem veniens in ævum!"

This great change in the tone of the Duke, in fact led to the discussion of the question, whether, in the event of a handsome reception tomorrow, it would, or would not, be allowable to make some relaxation in terms, and even consent to the performance of the ceremony itself, on its being guaranteed by Ho Koong-yay, that some of those important points of negociation, which formed the object of the mission, should be conceded to us by the Emperor.

27th. Chairs were in waiting at an early hour this morning, and at ten o'clock Chang and Yin came to accompany us. The party set out, seven in number, and had merely to proceed as far as the temple which formed the Duke's residence, at about a quarter of a mile from our Koong-kwan. A considerable

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number of open Courts were to be passed, before we reached the one where Ho Koong-yay, and Moo, Soo, and Kwong were assembled, with a great number of other Mandarins. Chairs were placed for us, and we took our seats in a row on one side, while the four Chinese Commissioners sat in order on the other. Chang and Yin *stood behind* the chairs, and, among those who were likewise doomed *erectos ad sidera tollere vultus*, we were glad to see our old friends, the six lads of Mougden.

The conversation began by some general questions from Ho, relative to the number of months that had been spent on the voyage, &c. &c. The subject of the ceremony was then introduced, and debated with great temper by the Duke, though he still did not hesitate to repeat the superiority of the Chinese Emperor over our Sovereign, and the consequent propriety of our compliance. In the intervals of the conversation, the Duke paid particular attention to the Ambassador's son, and calling him to his seat presented him with purses, fans, &c. There was clearly an intended policy in all this, absurd as it may seem, and it went to confirm my opinion of the very low estimate which the Chinese generally entertain of European intellects and feelings, to suppose that they could be moved by such means to swerve from any points of policy or duty. The Duke at length gave a hint that, in the event of compliance, we should certainly not be without an equivalent advantage in negociation, and that he himself would stand our friend with the Emperor: and it was finally determined to go back and for the last time

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deliberate whether it were possible to perform the ceremony on such terms. The Chinese, upon this, became all that is most condescending; we were ushered to our chairs with an incumbrance of ceremony; while the six lads of Mougden accompanied us to even an outer gate, profuse of bows, and smiling uncouthly like cupids upon ancient tapestry — *O quantum mutati ab illis Hectoribus!* — I awaited with the utmost anxiety the result of the deliberation.

Both the Ambassador and third Commissioner declared their readiness to perform the ceremony, on the terms proposed by Ho, provided that their remaining colleague concurred in its expediency; but at the same time called upon him to deliver his own opinion definitively, and stated that they were resolved to abide by it, as the dictate of personal knowledge and local experience. Being thus placed in a somewhat difficult and delicate position, the second Commissioner thought it right to give a final corroboration to his own sentiments by referring privately to those among us who had passed some time at Canton. He found us, I believe, unanimous in the main: for my own part, I merely persisted in what I had often expressed to him before, and the short answer I gave was grounded on such reasonings as have been already herein stated. It was at length decided that the Duke should be informed, for the last time, that the prostration *could not* be performed by us; and the Ambassador wrote a civil but firm letter, thanking Ho for his polite reception in the morning, but declaring that, after mature

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deliberation, he had come to the decision that it was impossible to perform any other ceremony than the one already proposed, viz. three genuflexions on one knee, and nine inclinations of the body. When this note had been translated and written out by myself, it was duly signed and sealed by His Excellency, and the private Secretary then joined me in proceeding on horseback to the Duke's residence, where we delivered it formally to the Mandarins in waiting.

It must be observed, that soon after our return from the morning audience, a very large supply of provisions had been at once brought to our residence, and an unusual bustle made by the Chinese about unloading the presents; at the same time that Chang brought word of the Duke coming immediately to visit the Ambassador. It was obvious that the intention of all this was to take it for granted that his Lordship had accepted the Duke's terms, and that we were ready to proceed forthwith, and knock-head. The Ambassador had requested me instantly to stop this indecent haste, and to tell Chang, that until he had signified his final determination in writing, he could not speak to the Duke on business; but should be happy to see him on a mere visit of ceremony.

A very short time after the delivery of the letter, the Duke was announced. This appeared singular, as he had barely had time to read the note—however, in he came, radiant with smiles, and proposed that we should set off for Peking tomorrow!—His Lordship asked him if he had

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received the letter just sent; and, on his replying in the affirmative, it was demanded if he had perfectly understood the contents? He replied, that he had understood them fully. The natural conclusion from all this was, that the performance of the ceremony on our part was dispensed with, but that Ho could not bring himself to express so great a concession in direct terms. The question, however was pressed upon him, and it was explicitly demanded, whether the ceremony proffered by us was sufficient to satisfy the Emperor? This was answered by a nod of the head, an abundance of smiles, and a declaration that the Emperor was extremely *Kwan*, or enlarged and indulgent in his disposition. After this, it was not easy to decline the proposed journey. When Ho Koong-yay had ended his visit, Kwong remained for the purpose of pressing our departure by daylight tomorrow; but this His Excellency declared to be quite impossible, although he stated his willingness to proceed as soon as we could be ready in the course of that day. Chang and Yin came in the evening, and sat at tea with us in a friendly way, making arrangements for the journey tomorrow.

28th. Great exertions were made this morning to leave Tung-chow as early as possible, and at half past four the *cortége* set out, care being taken that all the baggage should precede us. As the two gentlemen of the guard and myself were to ride, I had requested the Mandarins overnight to let us be supplied with tolerable horses; but when these were

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produced, they turned out, in regard to both their personal accomplishments and their furniture, to be in a state of utter impossibility. I walked over to Kwong and remonstrated with him; upon which he affected to be convinced of the propriety of what I said, and pretended not to know that the animals were so bad. ChangTa-jin then offered me his own horse, saying that he should go in his chair, and I gladly accepted it, as though bad enough, it was greatly superior to the former tender.

In our progress towards the Capital, we proceeded close under the high walls of Tung-chow, which we left to the right, and soon came to a broad road of hewn granite, which was evidently very old, and in so ruined a state, that it might fairly have been referred to the days of Yaou and Shun. This road, or rather causeway over the low flats, extended nearly to Yuen-ming-yuen; and though the Ambassador's carriage got on pretty well, through the skill and steadiness of his coachman, its strength was greatly tried by the formidable cavities which its wheels had occasionally to encounter, and which gave it sometimes the motion of a ship in a heavy cross sea. At the distance of about six miles from Tung-chow, when it was beginning to grow dark, we stopped to have some refreshment

The place at which we alighted was for all the world just like the stable-yard of an inn, putting the recommendations of clean pavement out of the question; and the knight of La Mancha himself would hardly have mistaken it for a

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Castle. On a table, in the stable-yard to wit, appeared a row of very formidable objects, which proved to be certain fowls, which, having had a portion of their feathers plucked off, were thus thrown into the pot, with the rest of their imperfections in and about them. Trussing was a thing not to be mentioned—but they lay in the very posture of their *derniers soupirs*, their legs stretched forth like the limbs of some malefactor extended on the wheel. The drinking part of the entertainment was on a par with the rest, and (those who chose it) were accommodated with indifferent water out of unclean buckets. All this, however, was recommended by the assurance, (on the part of the Chinese) that it was in exact conformity, with the "customs of our country"—Very like our country, indeed!

As Kwong said that we could not arrive at Yuen-ming-yuen before the next morning, I exchangad my horse for one of the wretched little Chinese carts, and had soon abundant reason to regret the choice, for the jolting of this primitive machine, without springs, on the ruined granite road, was a thing to be felt only, and not described. There are no words for it in the vocabulary of a country of railroads.—After a tedious and wretched night spent on the journey, we arrived about day-break at Hae-tëen, close to Yuen-ming-yuen, being the place intended for our residence.

22th. On issuing from my Scythian *plaustrum* more dead than alive, I found two of the gentlemen of the suite

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pacing up and down in one of the open courts or enclosures before the building, while a number of Mandarins were staring at them. Some of these at length shewed us the range of apartments destined for us, and tired as we were with the night's journey, we threw ourselves down to sleep, as it happened, in the Ambassador's room. We were soon, however, awakened by the arrival of his Lordship, accompanied by a number of the suite, and listened with surprize to the history of their adventures at the Emperor's palace.

Immediately on the Ambassador's arrival with the commissioners, and a few of the gentlemen, (for they had reached this place sometime before us) he had been drawn thither by an invitation from Ho Koong-yay. After passing through an open court, where were assembled a vast number of Mandarins in their dresses of ceremony, they were shewn into a wretched room, and soon encompassed by a well-dressed crowd, consisting of the highest grandees of the Empire, and princes of the blood by dozens. All of these displayed a childish curiosity, unaccountably ill-bred and unmannerly after the fine stories heard in Europe about Chinese politeness. They examined the persons and dress of the gentlemen with the most unceremonious forwardness; while these, regardless of their presence, tired beyond measure with their sleepless journey, and disgusted at the behaviour of the Celestials, turned their backs upon them, and laid themselves down to rest. Ho soon appeared, and surprised the Ambassador by urging him to proceed directly to an

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audience of the Emperor, who was waiting for him. His Lordship in vain remonstrated that, tired and dusty as they all were at present, it would be worthy neither of the Emperor, nor of himself, to attend on his Majesty in a manner so unprepared. He urged too, that he was unwell, and required immediate rest. The Duke became more and more pressing, though the Ambassador reminded him that tomorrow had been fixed for the first audience before we left Tung-chow, and begged that tomorrow might still be the day. Ho at length forgot himself so far, as to gripe his Lordship's arm violently, and one of the lads of Mougden (*ecce iterum Crispinus!*) stepped up at the same time. The Ambassador immediately shook them off, and the gentlemen crowded round his person. His Lordship behaved with wonderful dignity and composure at this trying moment, and told Lieut.——, who, like Gregory in the play, began to "remember his swashing blow," that he must not draw his sword. The highest indignation was expressed at such behaviour, and a determined resolution to proceed to no audience this morning. His Lordship at length retired, with the appearance of satisfaction, on the part of the Duke, that the audience should take place tomorrow. The Emperor's physician was soon after despatched to see His Excellency.

One remarkable circumstance, strongly characteristic of the high *civilization* of the Chinese, occurred while the Ambassador was leaving the room. When the Mandarins, spurred on by their curiosity, pressed in crowds upon our party, the Duke

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snatched a whip, and began to belabour them manfully on all sides; making liberal use, at the same time, of his fists and his feet, and proving, beyond a doubt, that honor must occupy very different seats in the East and West. The highest grandees of the Empire (some of them with yellow girdles) dispersed like a flock of sheep. When His Excellency reached our intended dwelling, they crowded in like manner into the large room, and peeped through the windows of his private apartment, making holes with their fingers in the colored paper divisions: but when his Lordship requested some of us to clear the place, they fled out at the entrance, the moment they perceived the summary mode in which this writ of ejectment was about to be served on them.

The Ambassador told us that he had successfully resisted the violence offend to him, but that he could not answer for what they might do next. Some time after this, it was intimated to us that the Emperor was in a towering passion, and that we were to go back directly to Tung-chow. A Mandarin came from the "General of the Nine Gates" of Peking to hasten our departure, saying that "a million of men" were prepared to back him. One might have thought that half the number was sufficient.

In the mean while, a most elegant repast was served up by way of breakfast, consisting of the greatest delicacies, and some really fine grapes and other fruit, laid out on porcelain of the richest description. This formed a singular

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contrast with our *bait* of the preceding night, in the stable yard, and the difference between our treatment, when *in* and *out of* favor, was remarkable. When the baggage, of which very little had been unloaded, was ready, we set off on our return, (not before four in the afternoon,) in nearly the same manner we had come. The day light enabled us to take a view of the lofty walls of Peking as we skirted them, and some of the party provided themselves with fragments of the blue bricks which compose it. The night that we spent on the road was twin brother to the one that preceded it; but soon after we had passed Tung-chow, the day began to dawn, and about four o' clock we reached our boats.

30th. As the greater number of us had enjoyed no sleep during two successive nights, most of the party were glad of a little rest. On our arrival we had observed that the gates of our Koong-kwan, or former residence, were barricaded with boards; but this was no matter of regret, for our boats were by far the most comfortable. The greater part of our baggage arrived in the course of the day, not without damage from the violent shaking, while some portion had been upset in the road, and was much spoiled by wet.

Soon after eight in the evening I retired to rest, in order to sleep off the fatigues of the two past nights; but at ten o' clock was aroused by a message from the Ambassador, who had received an unexpected visit from Soo and Kwong at that late hour. They brought some presents for

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the Prince Regent from the Emperor, viz. a *Ju-y*, or sceptre of good fortune, made apparently from one large piece of agate; a dozen of the purses which the Emperor wears at his side; and some necklaces of large beads. These things were paltry enough in respect to their value, but fully equal to the presents of the last Embassy. In return, the Mandarins produced a paper containing the names of a few things among our presents which the Emperor desired to have, viz. The pictures of their Majesties; the four large maps; (three of which were the United kingdoms) and the books of engravings.

The two Mandarins stated, as the reason for this exchange, the Emperor's wish that our King might not be very angry with us on our return. But His Lordship requested me to tell them, that he had no fears whatever of the displeasure of his sovereign, being quite conscious that he had done his duty throughout, and at the same time expressed his dissatisfaction at the treatment he had received from their Government. He added, that the presents were a matter of small importance, and, as the Emperor desired to have them, he had no objection to their going to Peking. Soo and Kwong endeavoured to throw all blame from themselves, as to being accessary to any ill-behaviour towards his Lordship, though they knew full well that he had good reason to complain of them both. His Excellency had in former interviews been accustomed to offer his arm to old Soo, when he quitted

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the boat, in consideration of his great age; but on this occasion he was allowed to make the best of his own way.

And thus ended the diplomatic part of the Embassy, the *embroüillement* of which may be fairly considered as owing to the more than Machiavellian tortuosities and bad faith of that "High and mighty prince" Duke Ho,—for the which, however, both himself and his coadjutors were all of them handsomely punished, as we had afterwards the satisfaction to learn, from a sort of penitential manifesto issued by the Emperor. On the 2nd. September, we commenced our journey of 1,200 miles through the interior of the country.

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三國志

TRANSLATED EXTRACTS

FROM THE

HISTORY OF THE THREE STATES.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Historical Romance of San-kwŏ, or the Three States, commences about A. D. 170, and, for a Chinese or Oriental work, it is as little deformed by extravagancies as could be expected. It bears some resemblance, in what Lord Chesterfield calls "the porter-like language" of its heroes, to the Iliad. These heroes, in like manner, surpass all moderns in strength and prowess, and make exchanges after the fashion of Glaucus and Diomed, Ajax and Hector. One possesses a sword weighing 80 kin, another shews his liberality in horses, silver, *a weight of iron*,

"And steel well-temper'd, and refulgent gold."

Society seems to have been in much the same state, as it was split into something like feudal principalities, hanging loosely together under the questionable authority of one head. That great step in civilization, the important invention of printing, had not yet taken place, * and even the manufacture of paper had only just been introduced.

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* Chinese annals place it in the 10th century of our era.

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The reigns of the last Emperors of the Han Dynasty, Ling-te and Hëen-te, were disturbed by their wars with the revolted Hwong-kin, or 'yellow caps', and by the machinations of the eunuchs of the palace. At this time, so little was left of the sovereign authority, that the Emperors are frequently styled by historians only Choo, or Lord. Tung-chŏ, who bears a very bad character in the San-kwŏ, being the general of the last sovereign of Han contrived to murder his master, and usurp the throne, but was soon afterwards put to death.

The first extract here given, with the original text, relates the fate of the three rebel brothers, Chang-paou, Chang-leang, and Chang-keo, and describes a siege. The second strongly displays, in the history of Ho-tsin, the mischievous power of the eunuchs, a remarkable feature in Chinese history. 'The yellow caps' were in time destroyed by Tsaou-tsaou, who in his turn usurped the Empire, but was finally exiled. Lew-pei of the imperial race, who makes a great figure in this history, finally became the founder of the How-Han, or Han restored, under the name of Chaou-leih, A. D. 226.

The two specimens now printed may serve to shew how far an English translation of the whole work, which is pretty voluminous, might be considered as a desideratum. It has been translated into Spanish, the whole or in part, by Padre Segui, many years resident in China, and now Archbishop of Luconia. There is, besides, an old Latin translation be-

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longing to the Royal Asiatic Society. Our's is the first attempt to print Chinese and English in alternate pages, a plan which might be found useful in studying the language.

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董卓當日怠慢了玄德張飛性發便欲殺之玄
德與關公急止之曰他是朝廷命官豈可擅殺
飛曰若不殺這廝反要在他部下聽令其實不
甘二兄要便住在此我自投別處去也玄德曰
我三人義同生死豈可相離不若都投別處去
便了飛曰如此稍解吾恨於是三人連夜引軍
來投朱儁儁待之甚厚合兵一處進討張寶是
時曹操自跟皇甫嵩討張梁大戰于曲陽這裏
朱儁進攻張寶引賊衆八九萬屯於山後儁令
玄德爲其先鋒與賊對敵張寶遣副將高昇出
馬搦戰玄德使張飛擊之飛縱馬挺矛與昇交
戰不數合刺昇落馬玄德麾軍直衝過去張寶

EXTRACTS,

&c.

FATE OF THE THREE REBEL BROTHERS CHANG.——MAGIC ARTS, AND A SIEGE DESCRIBED.

Tung-chŏ having treated slightly Lew-pei, the anger of Chang-fei was roused, and he would have slain the aggressor. —Lew-pei with Kwan-koong, however, anxiously restrained him, saying, 'You must let him alone,—he is an especial appointment of the Emperor." "But, said the other, if this fellow goes free, it is very hard upon us to be subject to his insolent sway — Friends, you may remain with him if you chuse: I shall withdraw myself elsewhere!"—"We three, replied Lew-pei, have agreed to live and die in company, and must never separate—let us therefore all retire together." "This, observed Chang-fei, will satisfy my resentment effectually." The three chiefs, accordingly, on the following night withdrew their troops and went over to Choo-tsëen, who received them very honorably, and, joining his forces with theirs, went in pursuit of Chang-paou; meanwhile Tsaou-tsaou himself followed Hwong-foo-soong in search of Chang-leang, giving him battle at Keo-yang. While Choo-tsëen threatened Chang-paou, the latter had entrenched himself with an army of eighty or ninety thousand men behind a mountain, and

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就馬上披髮仗劍作起妖法只見風雷大作一
股黑氣從天而降黑氣中似有無限人馬殺來
玄德連忙回軍軍中大亂敗陣而歸與衆商計
議衆曰彼用妖術我來日可宰猪羊狗血令軍
士伏于山頭候賊趕來從高坡上潑之其法可
解玄德聽令撥關公張飛各引軍一千伏于山
後高岡之上盛猪羊狗血并穢物准備次日張
寶搖旗擂鼓引軍搦戰玄德出迎交鋒之際張
寶作法風雷大作卷砂走石黑氣漫天滾滾人
馬自天而下玄德撥馬便走張寶驅兵趕來將
過山頭關張伏兵放起號砲穢物齊潑但見空
中紙人草馬紛紛墜地風雷頓息砂石不飛張

Choo-tsëen sent Lew-pei to dislodge him. Chang-paou having deputed his lieutenant Kaou-shing to meet this force, Lew-pei sent Chang-fei to encounter him; and this leader, giving his horse the rein, charged with his spear Kaou-shing, who presently fell dead from his horse. Lew-pei took advantage of this to steal upon Chang-paou with his whole force, to baffle which, the latter mounted his horse, and with dishevelled hair and waving sword betook himself to magic arts. The wind arose, with loud peals of thunder, and there descended from on high a black cloud, in which appeared innumerable men and horses as if engaged.

Lew-pei instantly drew off his troops in confusion, and giving up the contest retreated to consult with Choo-tsëen. The latter observed, 'Let him have recourse again to magic—I will prepare the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, and placing a party on the heights in ambush, wait until the enemy approaches, when his magic will be all dispersed by projecting the same upon him. Lew-pei assented to this, and directed Kwon-koong and Chang-fei each with a thousand men to ascend the highest part of the mountain, supplied with the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, with other impure things.

On the following day, Chang-paou with flags displayed and drums beating came forth to offer battle, and Lew-pei proceeded to meet him; but scarcely had they joined, before Chang-paou put his magic in exercise, the wind and thunder arose, and a storm of sand and stones commenced. A

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寶見解了法急欲退軍左關公右張飛兩軍都
出背後玄德朱雋一齊趕上賊兵大敗玄德望
見地公將軍旗號飛馬趕來張寶落荒而走玄
德發箭中其左臂張寶帶箭逃脫走入陽城堅
守不出朱雋引兵圍住陽城攻打一面差人打
探曰皇甫嵩消息探子回報且說皇甫嵩大獲
勝捷朝廷以董卓屢敗命嵩代之嵩到時張角
已死張統其眾與我軍相拒被皇甫嵩連勝七
陣斬張梁於曲陽發張角之棺戮尸梟首送往
京師餘梁眾俱降朝廷加皇甫嵩爲車騎將軍
領冀州牧皇甫嵩又表奏盧植有功無罪朝廷
復盧植原官曹操亦以有功除濟南相卽日將

dark cloud obscured the sky, and troops of horsemen seemed to descend. Lew-pei upon this made a shew of retreating, when Chang-paou followed him: but scarcely had they turned the hill when the ambushed troops started up, and lanced upon the enemy their impure stores.—The air seemed immediately filled with paper men, and horses of straw, which fell to the earth in confusion; while the winds and thunder at once ceased, and the sand and stones no longer flew about. When Chang-paou saw his magic thus baffled, he would have quickly retreated, but Kwon-koong on one side, and Chang-fei on the other, made their appearance; while Lew-pei and Choo-tsëen pursued in the rear. The rebels were defeated with great slaughter.

Lew-pei seeing the flag inscribed "Lord of Earth," ran full speed on his horse towards Chang-paou, who took to flight, and in his retreat was wounded in the left arm with an arrow discharged at him by Lew-pei. He entered the city Yang-ching, which he strongly fortified, and Choo-tsëen, bringing up his army, laid siege to it. He at the same time sent a messenger to obtain intelligence of Hwong-foo-soong, who on his return related that the said general having obtained a great victory over the rebels, the Emperor had appointed him to supersede Tung-chŏ. Hwong-foo-soong had not arrived at his command before Chang-keŏ (one of the rebel brothers) was dead, and Chang-leang opposing his troops to the imperial general, was repeatedly worsted by

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班師赴任朱儁聽說催促軍馬悉力功打陽城
賊勢危急賊將嚴政刺殺張寶獻首投降朱儁
遂平數郡上表獻捷時又黃巾餘黨三人趙宏
韓忠孫仲聚衆數萬望風燒刦稱與張角報仇
朝廷命朱儁卽以得勝之師討之儁奉詔率軍
前進時賊據宛城儁引兵攻之趙宏遣韓忠出
戰儁遣玄德關張攻城西南角韓忠盡率精銳
之衆來迎南角抵敵朱儁自縱鐵騎二千逕取
東北角賊恐失城急棄西南而回玄德從背後
掩殺賊衆大敗奔入宛城朱儁分兵四面圍定
城中斷糧韓忠使人出城投降儁不許玄德曰
昔高祖之得天下蓋爲能招降納順公何拒韓

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him in seven battles, and at length lost his head. The coffin of Chang-keŏ was likewise despoiled of its contents, his body exposed, and his head sent to the Capital. The rebels all surrendered, and Hwong-foo-soong was raised to a higher dignity, and made governor of Ke-chow. He immediately reported to the Emperor the innocence and merits of Lew-chĕ, who was accordingly restored to office, and Tsaou-tsaou, the partner of his successes, was likewise promoted.

Choo-tsëen, on the receipt of this intelligence, pressed the siege, and, when the rebels were reduced to extremity, one of their leaders Yen-ching murdered Chang-paou, and presenting his head to the conqueror gave up the place. When Choo-tsëen had reduced some other districts he presented an address to the Emperor concerning his successes: but soon afterwards, some remnants of the yellow-capped rebels, viz. Shaou-hoong, Han-choong, and Sun-choong, collecting together myriads of disaffected persons, spread fire and devastation around, declaring themselves the avengers of Chang-keŏ. The Emperor commanded Choo-tsëen to attack them with his victorious troops, and, as the rebels had gained possession of the city Won-ching, he led his army to invest it. Shaou hoong sent Han-choong to meet him; upon which Choo-tsëen despatched Lew-pei to attack the south-west side of the city, which Han-choong perceiving, hastened to meet him: but Choo-tsëen himself, leading two thousand heavy-armed, at the same time attacked the north-east corner. The rebels, being afraid

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忠耶雋曰彼一時此一時也昔秦項之際天下大亂民無定主故招降賞附以以勸來耳今海內一統惟黃巾造反若容其降無以勸善使賊得利恣意劫掠失利便投降此長寇之志非良德玄策也曰不容寇降是也今四面圍如鐵桶賊乞降不得必然死戰萬人一心尙不可當況城中有數萬死命之人乎不若撤去東南獨攻西北賊必棄城而走無心戀戰可卽擒也韓然之隨撤東西二面軍馬一齊攻打西北韓忠果引軍棄城而奔雋與玄德關張率三軍掩殺射死韓忠

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of losing the city, quickly abandoned the south-western part and returned towards the other, upon which Lew-pei made his attack successfully, and the rebels retreated into their strong hold. Choo-tsëen then proceeded to invest the four sides of the city, and cut off all supplies of grain: and when Han-chöong sent persons to propose submission, he would not accept it. Upon this Lew-pei observed, "When Kaou-tsoo formerly obtained the sovereignty, it was chiefly by accepting submission, and thus inducing obedience — Why do you reject their offer?"—Choo-tsëen replied, "The occasions are very different. At that time the Empire was in great confusion, and the people without a fixed head:—it was therefore right to invite allegiance, and reward submission, as an inducement to join. But at present there are no rebels within the whole compass of the seas, expect these yellow-caps. It they are allowed to submit without punishment, they will continue their courses while successful, and, whenever unsuccessful, obtain an easy immunity by submission. This, therefore, would not suit our case."—"It is right not to allow them to escape punishment, replied Lew-pei,—but hemmed in, as they now are, on every side, if they cannot obtain some terms, they will be desperate, and all die with one heart, which might make them dangerous; besides which, in this city there are several myriads of persons careless of life or death. It will, therefore, be best to abandon the south-east side, and attack the north-west, which will certainly induce the enemy to

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leave the city and fly. When they are retreating in disorder they may be routed.—Choo-tsëen assented to this, and leaving the south-east side attacked with his whole force the north-west, upon which Han-choong, according to their expectations, abandoned the city, and took to flight with his army. Choo-tsëen, with his three generals at the head of three divisions, followed them with great slaughter, and Han-choong was slain.

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中平六年夏四月靈帝病篤召大將軍何進入
宮商議後事那何進起身屠家因妹入宮爲貴
人生皇子辨遂立爲皇后進由是得權重任帝
又寵幸王美人生皇子協何后妒嫉鴆殺王美
人皇子協養于董太后宮中董太后乃靈帝之
母解瀆亭侯萇之妻也初因桓帝無子迎立解
瀆亭侯之子是爲靈帝靈帝入繼大統遂迎養
母氏于宮中尊爲太后董太后嘗勸帝立皇子
協爲太子帝亦偏愛協欲立之當時病篤中常
侍蹇碩奏曰若欲立協必先誅何進以絶後患
帝然其說因宣進入宮進至宮門司馬潘隱謂
進曰不可入宮蹇碩欲謀殺公進大驚急歸私

HISTORY AND FATE OF HO-TSIN——INTRIGUES OF THE EUNUCHS.

In the 4th. moon of the 6th. year of his reign, the Emperor *Ling-te*, being seized with a mortal sickness, sent for the general Ho-tsin, stating that he desired to consult with him regarding the succession. This person was sprung from a very low family, his father having been a butcher; but when his younger sister had been admitted into the Emperor's palace, and borne him a son, who was named Pëen, she become soon elevated to the rank of empress, and Ho-tsin in consequence was raised to high offices. The Emperor had also been very fond of another mistress whom he had taken, named Yu-mei-jin, and who had likewise produced him a son, named Hëë: but the sister of Ho-tsin having poisoned the mother through jealousy, the son was brought up by the Emperor's own mother, Tung-tae-how. She had been the wife of the minister Lew-chang, but as the Emperor then reigning had no offspring, he chose the son of his minister to succeed him, which was Ling-te; and when Ling-te obtained the Empire, he raised his mother to the rank of empress. She constantly urged her son to select *Hëë* as his successor; a measure which the Emperor was already inclined to, as he had a partiality for the youth. Being at the point of death, the eunuch *Këen-shë* advised him thus—"If your majesty wishes to

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宅召諸大臣欲盡誅宦官座上一人挺身出曰
宦官之勢起自冲質之時朝廷滋蔓極廣安能
盡誅倘機不密必有滅族之禍請細詳之進視
之乃典軍校尉曹操也進叱曰汝小輩安知朝
廷大事正躊躇間潘隱至言帝已崩今蹇碩與
十常侍商議秘不發喪矯詔宣何國舅入宮欲
絕後患册立皇子協爲帝說未了使命至宣進
速入以定後事操曰今日之計先宜正君位然
後圖賊進日誰敢與吾正君討賊一人挺身出
曰願借精兵五千斬關入內册立新君盡誅閹
豎掃清朝廷以安天下進視之乃司徒袁逢之
子袁隗之姪名術字本初見爲司隸校尉何進

nominate *Hëë*, you must first cut off *Ho-tsin*, in order to prevent after troubles." The Emperor assented to this counsel, and sent for Ho-tsin to the palace. Scarcely, however, had the latter reached the palace gate, when Pwan-yin advised him by no means to enter, as the eunuch intended to murder him. Ho-tsin in great consternation retired to his private dwelling, and, having summoned all the great officers of the court, proposed to them the extermination of the eunuchs. Upon this one of the assembly rose up and said, "They have been so long established, and have become so numerous and powerful, that it will be a difficult matter to exterminate them entirely. Unless our measures are taken with prudence, we may suffer in the destruction of our own families. Let us then deliberate with care."—Ho-tsin looked at the speaker, and, seeing that it was Tsaou-tsaou, observed with an exclamation of contempt, "How should you be acquainted with what relates to Imperial matters?"—But in the midst of the debate entered Pwan-yin, to report that the Emperor was just dead, and that the eunuchs were all deliberating whether they should not defer his burial, and drawing all their enemies within the palace, put them to death, in order to raise the young *Hëë* to the throne. This notice was scarcely received, before a message came to *Ho-tsin* inviting him to enter the palace quickly, in order to settle the succession. Tsaou-tsaou observed, "Our business at present is to establish the new Emperor, after which we may

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大喜遂點御林軍五千紹全身披挂何進引何顒荀攸鄭泰等大臣三十餘員相繼而入就靈帝柩前扶立太子辨卽皇帝位百官呼拜已畢袁紹入宮收蹇碩碩慌走入御園花陰下爲中常侍郭勝所殺碩所領禁軍盡皆投順紹謂何進曰中官結黨今日可乘勢盡誅之張讓等知事急慌入告何后曰始初設謀陷害大將軍者正蹇碩一人並不干臣等事今大將軍聽袁紹之言欲盡誅臣等乞娘娘憐憫何太后曰汝勿憂我當保汝傳旨宣何進入太后密謂曰我與汝出身寒微非張讓等焉能享此富貴今蹇碩不仁既已伏誅汝何聽信人言欲盡誅宦官耶

punish the traitors." — Ho-tsin upon this exclaimed, "Who will assist me to punish them?"—Somebody rose up and said, "With 5,000 chosen troops I will engage to establish the new Emperor in the palace, and to restore peace to the Empire by exterminating the eunuchs." Ho-tsin observed that the speaker was Yuen-shaou, the son of Yuen-foong, and gladly provided him with five thousand troops; upon which he prepared himself, and Ho-tsin assembling about thirty of the principal officers of the court, they proceeded in a body to the palace. There, before the bier of the late Emperor, they placed his son, and, having done homage to him, Yuen-shaou proceeded in search of the eunuch *Këen-shĕ*, who, seized with terror, sought concealment in the imperial gardens, and was there slain by one of his brother eunuchs Kwo-shing. The soldiers that had been in the service of Këen-shĕ all submitted to Ho-tsin, and Yuen-shaou then advised that, as the whole number of eunuchs were together in one body, the opportunity should be seized for exterminating them. The eunuchs, seeing themselves reduced to extremity, went altogether to the empress, the mother of Ho-tsin, declaring that the plot laid against his life was entirely the work of Këen-shĕ, and that they had no concern in it whatever; that Ho-tsin, being now ready to believe the allegations made by Yuen-shaou, was prepared to exterminate them, and they accordingly entreated the empress to take compassion on their body. She dismissed them with an assurance of protection, and sending for her

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何進聽罷出謂衆官曰寨碩設謀害我可族滅
其家進其餘不必妄加殘害袁紹若曰不斬草除
根必爲喪身之本進曰吾意已決勿多言衆
官皆退次日太后命何進參錄尙書事其餘皆
封官職董太后宣張讓等入宮商議曰何進之
妹始初我擡舉他今日他孩兒卽皇帝位內外
臣僚皆其心腹威權太重我將如何讓奏曰娘
可臨朝垂聽簾政封皇子協爲降加國舅董
大官掌握權軍重用臣等大事可圖矣董太
后大喜次日設朝董太后降旨封皇子協爲陳
后王董重爲驃騎將軍張讓等共預朝政何太
后專權于宮中設一宴請董太后赴

留見董太后專權于宮中設一宴請董太后赴

brother said to him privately, "We both of us rose from a very low origin, and, had it not been for Chang-yang and the other eunuchs, could never have enjoyed our present situations. The guilty Këen-shĕ being already put to death, why need you listen to people's suggestions, or desire to exterminate the whole body of eunuchs?"*—Ho-tsin assented to this advice, and going forth to the other ministers said to them. "Këen-shĕ having laid a plot against my life, the extirpation of his own family and relatives will be sufficient—there is no need to extend the persecution to the rest."—To this Yuen-shaou observed, that if they did not effectually remove the weeds, their remaining roots might become a source of danger. "My mind, replied Ho-tsin, is already made up: there is no need of farther words." The ministers then all retired, and on the following day Ho-tsin, at his sister the empress's request, appointed all the new officers, which when the empress-mother heard, she sent for Chang-yang and the other eunuchs to consult with them, saying,—"The sister of Ho-tsin owed her first elevation to myself; but, her son being now Emperor, the ministers all side with her, and her weight and authority are great—what then am I to do?"—The chief eunuch advised her to hold a council, to declare the prince Hëĕ successor to the throne, to appoint her relative *Tung-choong*, to the command of the army, and restore the

* The Chinese commentator here quotes an old maxim, that "Women are the promoters of trouble—the ruin of public business."

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席酒至半酣何太后起謝掩杯再拜曰我等婦
人也參預朝政非其所宜昔呂后因握重權
宗族千口皆被戮今我等宜深居九重朝廷大
事任大臣元老自行商議今國家之幸也願垂
聽焉董后大怒曰汝敢死王美人設心嫉妒今
倚汝子爲君與汝兄何進之勢輒敢亂言吾赦
踩騎斷汝兄首如反掌耳何后亦怒曰吾以好
言相勸何反怒耶董后曰汝家屠沽小輩有何
見識兩宮互相爭張讓等各勸歸宮何后連夜
召何進入宮告以前事何進出召三公共議來
早設朝使廷臣奏董太后原係藩妃不宜久居
宮中合仍遷于河間安置限目下卽出國門一

eunuchs to their power. She received this counsel with the utmost satisfaction, and holding a court on the following day followed the eunuch's advice in every particular. But when the sister of Ho-tsin observed this encroachment on her authority, she prepared an entertainment, and invited the empress, mother of the late Emperor, to join it. When they had made some progress in the feast, the young empress rose, and saluting her guest with a cup of wine, observed, "We are both of us women, and to intermeddle in state affairs does not become us. The former empress *Leu-how*, who ventured to exercise the chief authority, was at last sacrificed with a thousand of her kindred—let us then take warning by her example, and dwell in befitting retirement, leaving the business of government to the ministers of the Empire; a measure which will be so much for the public benefit, that I trust you will not object to it."—Incensed at this, the other replied, "Shall a treacherous upstart creature like yourself, with a heart full of malignity, relying on your relationship to your son, and on the power of your brother, dare to address me in this way? — I can order you brother's head to be taken off, as easily as I can turn my hand."—The other princess now became angry in her turn, and said, "My friendly advice little deserved this furious return."—"What pretensions, rejoined the old empress, has the family of a mean butcher to offer any advice at all?"—The dispute thus continued, until Chang-yang and the eunuchs interfered

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面遣人起送董后一面點禁軍圍驃騎將軍董
重府宅追索印授董重知事急自刎于後堂家
人舉哀軍士方散張讓段圭見董后一枝已廢
遂皆以金珠玩好結構何進弟何苗并其母舞
陽君令早晚入何太后處善言遮蔽因此十常
侍又得近幸六月何進暗使人酖殺董后于河
間驛庭舉柩回京葬于文陵進托病不出司隸
校尉袁紹入見進曰張讓段圭等流言于外言
公酖殺董后欲謀大事乘此時不誅閹宦後必
有大禍昔竇武欲誅內豎機謀不密反受其殃
今公兄弟部曲將吏皆英俊之士若使盡力事
在掌握此天贊之時不可失也進日且容商議

and advised them to retire: but the younger empress that very night sent for her brother Ho-tsin, and informed him of what had occurred, upon which he immediately appointed a council to meet on the following morning, and a memorial to be presented, stating that the old empress, being no longer the wife or consort of the reigning Emperor, should not remain in the palace, but be immediately transferred to a distant residence. Persons were accordingly sent at once to convey away the princess; while, at the same time, a force surrounded the dwelling of Tung-choong, her relative, and reducing him to extremity, caused him to cut his throat; after which all his retainers and followers dispersed.—Chang-yang and the other eunuchs, seeing they could no longer derive support from that quarter, set themselves to work with gold and jewels to bribe Ho-meaou, the young brother of Ho-tsin, and his mother, causing them to repair constantly to the empress, Ho-tsin's sister, and solicit her favor on their behalf; by which means they became restored to safety. In the following summer, Ho-tsin caused the old empress to be secretly poisoned in her place of exile, and when the body was taken to the capital to be interred in state, he counterfeited sickness, and would not go to meet it.—Yuen-shaou came to Ho-tsin soon after, and told him that Chang-yang and the rest were spreading abroad rumours of his having poisoned the old empress, and of his meditating ambitious projects for himself.

"If, said he, you do not seize this occasion to exter-

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左右報張讓讓等轉告何苗又多送賄賂苗入
秦何后云大將軍輔佐新君不行仁慈專務殺
伐今無端又欲殺十常侍此取亂之道也后納
其言少頃何進入白后欲誅中涓何后曰中官
統領禁省漢家故事先帝新棄天下爾殺誅殺
舊臣非重宗廟也進本是沒決斷之人聽太后
言唯唯而出袁紹迎問曰大事若何進曰太后
不允如之奈何紹曰可召四方英雄之士勒兵
來京盡誅閹豎此時事急不容太后不從進曰
此計大妙便發檄至各鎮召赴京師主簿陳琳
曰不可俗云掩目而捕燕雀是自欺也微物尚
不可欺以得志況國家大事乎今將軍仗皇威

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minate these eunuchs, you will hereafter have certain cause to regret it. When *Te-woo* formerly desired to rid himself of that tribe, he allowed his plans to transpire, and became consequently involved in ruin. Your family and friends are now in full power: if you exert yourself prudently, the thing is in your own hands, and the opportunity is so manifestly afforded be heaven, that it should not be lost."—Ho-tsin replied, that "There was time enough to consider about it,"—and this at length being reported secretly to Chang-yang, he applied to Ho-meaou, and induced him by bribes to go to the empress, saying, "My brother has committed great cruelties in upholding the new Emperor, and extinguished several families; in addition to which, he is determined, with equal injustice, to exterminate the eunuchs, which is a certain way to produce disorder,"—She agreed with him, and Ho-tsin soon after coming in, made the proposition, but the empress replied, "The eunuchs possessed the chief officers under the Han dynasty, and were you, so soon after the late Emperor's decease, to put the former officers to death, it would be a slight upon the imperial temple of ancestors."—Ho-tsin, being a man of no decision, listened to his sister's words, and assented to what she said; but being met by Yuen-shaou as he went out, the latter asked how matters stood?—"The empress is averse from the plan, replied Ho-tsin—there is nothing to be done."—"But, observed the other, yon may collect together a sufficient number of leaders with their troops

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掌兵要龍驤虎步高下在心若欲誅宦官如鼓
烘爐燎毛髮耳但當速發雷霆行權立斷則天
人順之却反外撓大臣臨犯京闕英雄聚會各
懷一心所謂倒持干戈授人以柄功必不成反
生亂矣何進笑曰此儒夫之見也傍邊一人鼓
掌大笑曰此事易如反掌何必多議視之乃曹
操也

董卓先爲破黃巾無功朝議將治其罪因賄賂
十常侍幸免後又結托朝貴遂任顯官鎮西州
大軍二十萬常有不臣之心是時得詔大喜點
起軍馬陸續便行使其壻中郎將牛輔守住陝
西自己却帶李傕郭汜張濟樊稠等提兵望洛

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to put an end to these eunuchs—the occasion is urgent, and it is needless to attend to the empress's wish."—"Your proposition is a good one," said he,—"I will presently send to the different districts to collect troops." One of the council endeavoured to dissuade him from this, observing that it was a common maxim not to shut one's eyes, or deceive oneself as to consequences, in the pursuit of any object whatever—and how much rather in the affairs of the Empire. "Being now invested, said he, with the supreme authority, you can act with irresistible power, and at once proceed to exterminate the eunuchs, in such a way as to strike awe into the Empire. But should you collect together at the capital all the leaders from the provinces, they will feel their strength, and may produce a revolution." Ho-tsin laughed at this, as the opinion of a mere man of letters; but *Tsaou-tsaou*, who stood by, clapped his hands together and exclaimed, "It might be done with the utmost ease; why make so much of it!"

* * * * * *

Tung-chŏ, having been formerly unsuccessful against the yellow-capped rebels, was condemned to punishment, but had contrived, by means of bribes to the eunuchs, to escape it. In consequence, too, of his connections and intrigues with those at court, he became appointed to the command of Se-chow, with 20 myriads of men. Being always inclined to treachery and rebellion, he received the invitation of Ho-tsin with great joy, and gradually collecting his forces left New-

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陽進發卓堵謀士李儒曰今雖奉詔中間多有
暗昧何不差人上表名正言順大事可圖卓太
喜遂上表其畧曰竊聞天下所以亂逆不止者
皆由黃門常侍張讓等悔侵天帝之故臣聞揚
湯止沸不如去薪潰癰雖痛勝於養毒臣敢鳴
鐘鼓入洛陽請除讓等社稷幸甚天下幸甚
何進得表出示大臣侍御史鄭泰諫曰董卓乃
豺狼也引入京城必食人矣進曰汝多疑不足
謀大事盧植亦諫曰植素知董卓爲人面善心
狼一入禁庭必生禍患不如止之勿來免致生
亂進不聽鄭泰盧植皆棄官而去朝廷大臣去
者大半進使人迎董卓于澠池卓按兵不動張

foo in charge of Shen-se, while he proceeded in person with his other leaders towards *Lŏ-yang*, the Capital. — Tung-chŏ's counsellor, Le-yu, said to him, "We have certainly received a summons on the occasion, but it is a very doubtful and obscure one — Why, then, should we not send forward an address, worded in such terms as may suit our views." — Tung-chŏ followed this advice very gladly, and despatched a paper which ran as follows.

"I understand that the continued disorder of the Empire "arises from the treasonable conduct of Chang-yang and the "eunuchs: but the best mode of stopping the ebullition of "the cauldron is to withdraw the fuel; and though to get "rid of the peccant humor be painful, it is better than "letting the poison continue. I therefore venture to sound "the alarm, and enter *Lŏ-yang*, recommending that the traitors "be exterminated, to the joy of the empire and its guardian "deities."

When Ho-tsin received this, he made it known to all the chief ministers, upon which one of them, Ching-tae, observed, 'Tung-chŏ is a wild beast, and, if he enters the capital, will devour many."—Ho-tsin replied to this by saying, "You are too suspicious, and do not understand state matters."— Leu-chĭh, however, confirmed the other's opinion by observing, "I have long known Tung-chŏ to be a man of a plausible face, but a wolfish heart; if he once enters our precincts, he will cause us sorrow; better, then, prevent his coming, and

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讓等知外兵到共議曰此何進之謀也我等不
先下手皆滅族矣乃先伏刀斧手五十人于長
樂宮嘉德門內入告何太后曰今大將軍矯詔
召外兵至京師欲滅臣等望娘娘垂憐賜救太
后曰汝等可詣大將軍府謝罪讓曰若到相府
骨肉齏粉矣望娘娘宣大將軍入宮諭止之如
其不從臣等只就娘娘前請死太后乃降詔宣
進進得詔便行主簿陳琳諫曰太后此詔必是
十常侍之謀切不可去去必有禍進曰太后詔
我有何禍事袁紹曰今謀已泄事已露將軍尚
欲入宮耶曹操曰先召十常侍出然後可入進
笑曰此小兒之見也吾掌天下之權十常侍敢

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obviate the confusion which must ensue." As Ho-tsin would not listen to either of these counsellors, they resigned their offices and retired; and about one half of the ministers likewise took their departure. Ho-tsin sent a deputation to meet Tung-chŏ at Ying-che, where he stopped and encamped with his army.

Chang-yang and the eunuchs, when they heard of the approach of the distant troops, consulted together. "This is a scheme of Ho-tsin, said they—if we do not anticipate him, we shall all be destroyed." They accordingly placed fifty armed men in ambush within the palace, and going to the Empress complained, that the general, her brother, had sent for the distant troops purposely to exterminate their body, and entreated her to have compassion on them, and interfere for their safety. "But you may proceed at once to him, replied she, and solicit his pardon." — "Were we to go, exclaimed Chang-yang, we should be chopped into small pieces!—Let us hope that your majesty will send for your brother and give him your instructions. Should he not listen to you, we can but die before you majesty's face." The Empress in consequence sent a message, desiring to see Ho-tsin, who made haste to comply, but was entreated by Chin-lin to refrain, on the ground that this invitation was a scheme of the eunuchs for his destruction." "What danger can there be, he exclaimed, when the empress sends for me?" — "Will you still resolve on going, said Yuen-shaou, when these plots are all apparent?"—Tsaou-tsaou advised that the eunuchs

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待如何紹曰公必欲去我等引甲士護從以防不測于是袁紹曹操各選精兵五百命袁紹之弟袁術領之袁術全身披掛引兵布列青鎖門外紹與操帶劍護送何進至長樂宮前黃門傳懿旨云太后特宣大將軍餘人不許輒入將袁紹曹操等都阻住宮門外何進昂然直入至嘉德殿門張讓段珪迎出左右圍住進大驚讓厲聲責進曰董后何罪妄以酖死國母喪葬托疾不出汝本屠沽小輩我等薦之天子以致榮貴不思報効欲相謀害汝言我等甚濁其清者是誰進急欲尋出路宮門盡閉伏甲齊出將何進砍爲兩段

should be drawn out before he entered; but Ho-tsin ridiculed the idea as childish—"With the supreme authority vested in my person, said he, how shall they presume to maltreat me?"—"If your highness is resolved on going, said Yuen-shaou, we will take an armed guard as a precaution against the worst." With this they selected some hundreds of picked troops, and gave them in charge to the younger brother of Yuen-shaou, who, arming himself, led them to the gate of the palace; while the others, taking their swords with them, escorted Ho-tsin to the Empress's gate. An order, however, was communicated, as from the Empress, that none but Ho-tsin might enter to the audience, and his companions being thus stopped, he went in alone. When he had arrived at an inner gate, Chang-yang and the others met and surrounded him, upon which Ho-tsin was alarmed; while Chang-yang began in a harsh tone to upbraid him, saying, "What was the offence of the late queen, that you should have poisoned her; or, when carried to her tomb, that you should have neglected to attend under plea of sickness? You originated in a butcher's paltry tribe, and it was our interest with the Emperor that made you what you are; for which, however, in lieu of gratitude, you have sought our destruction. If you say that we are stained with guilt, prove that yourself are purer?" —Ho-tsin, seized with consternation, would gladly have retired, but the gates were all shut, and the armed men, issuing from their ambush, took him and divided him in twain.

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NOTE ON

HOMICIDES IN CHINA.

1830.

I prefaee my own observations by the following Extracts.

—"With reference to the important question which you recommend to my consideration, of the expediency of establishing a judicial Tribunal of our own at Canton, for the punishment of offenders—the evils of the present system are, I confess, great and undeniable. In order to save the innocent, we are compelled to do little less than systematically to screen the guilty: yet the establishment of a criminal court within the limits of a foreign state, and without the sanction of that state, (for the Chinese, tho' they would authorize you to *convict*, would never, I apprehend, sanction your right to *acquit*) is such an anomaly in legislation, that a very strong case of expediency must be made out before it would be listened to."

—"In my last letter, I just touched upon the subject you proposed to me, of the invention of a remedy for the very unsatisfactory state of the law as applicable to your situation in China, in cases of homicide. The English laws are silent on the point, and the Chinese laws (or rather practice) speak a language to which you cannot either in honor

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on in policy entirely submit. The consequence is, that in order to protect the innocent, you are often obliged to screen the guilty—the trade is disturbed, and crimes escape unpunished. I have thus fully acknowledged the evil, yet I cannot, I confess, quite see my way to a remedy. If it were likely that the Chinese might be prevailed on to sanction the establishment of a judicial court of our own at Canton, I think it possible that such a measure, though a very new and singular case, might be brought about: but it would be obviously worse than useless if the Chinese government did not agree to sanction its decisions; which, when their own subjects are concerned, I cannot help looking on as hopeless. — I wish, however, you would digest this matter in your mind, and if you should be able to sketch any plan of a remedy for the existing abuse, I hope you will send it me for the information of the president of the Board of Control. If ever private traders from England should be admitted to compete in the Tea trade at Canton with the Company, the evil would of course increase, and the remedy become more needful."

The above was the view taken of this question (some years since) by a high authority, in reply to a written application. I am not inclined to attach the same weight to the apprehended opposition on the Chinese side. Not to mention the Dutch, the Portuguese very lately both tried and executed their man themselves; and according to Chinese

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notions (on which this part of the difficulty *entirely* hinges) the Portuguese at Macao are not at all less dependent on Chinese law, than we at Canton. The Chinese would therefore be quite as ready to allow of our right to condemn and execute real murderers on board our ships, as they are to allow the Portuguese right at Macao: and if they saw that we were willing and ready to bring real murderers to condign punishment, I feel persuaded they would not be long in allowing our right to acquit the innocent.—It is the feeling of jealousy and resentment (which we can hardly wonder at) arising from the almost certain escape of real criminals, that makes them so anxious to get hold of all persons indiscriminately; and in fact causes them to act more from a *motive of revenge*, than with a view to promoting the ends of substantial justice. This is a very barbarous and shocking state of things (little better on our side than on their's) and it seems the duty of a great and civilized state like England to provide a remedy.

The propriety, or rather necessity, of non-submission to the Chinese law, (as suspended or perverted, and not *administered*) towards strangers, is easily made out.—Though it be a principle obviously founded in natural justice, and has therefore been universally acknowledged as an established maxim of the law of nations, that 'foreigners shall be amenable to the laws of the country in which the happen to reside,' still this rule, (not to mention that China subscribes

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to no international code whatever) must always have its conditions. Protection from, and submission to, local laws must, like every other right and obligation, be strictly reciprocal; and the state, that denies the benefits and protection of its laws to strangers, forfeits of course its claim on their submission. This point has been singularly illustrated in practice (as appears from Mr. Macfarlane's lately published work) in the relations of European states with Turkey.—"For many years, no such thing as an execution of Franks by Turkish law has been seen in the Levant, where offenders are given over to their respective consuls," &c.—It is stated that this established immunity had been the result of the barbarity and injustice practiced by the Turks towards all Franks accused of crimes; and it may easily be proved, from repeated experience, that reasons for the same exist, (in an aggravated degree) in our relations with the Chinese.

We are fairly in possession of the fact, that they clearly understand the distinctions between *malicious*, *excusable*, and *justifiable* homicide; and that, in the case of their own subjects, the law distinguishes between

1. Killing with an intention,
2. Killing by pure accident, and
3. Killing in lawful self-defence, or in the execution of one's duty.

Although, according to an antiquated error in legislation, homicide is frequently treated by them as a private, instead

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of a public wrong, (being made redeemable by a fine to the relations of the deceased,) yet in the administration of the law towards natives, the above three distinctions are clearly observed, in aggravation or mitigation of the particular offence. Thus, (Leu Lee, 6th Div. 2nd B.)

1. In a *conspiracy to kill*, all those who actually contribute to the perpetration of the offence, are equally punished with death, though there is the difference between beheading and strangling for the principals and accessaries. Even where the wounds inflicted do not prove mortal, the principal suffers death.

2. Killing by *pure accident*, that is, where there was not any previous knowledge of the probable consequences, is redeemable by a fine of about 12 Tales to the relations of the deceased.

3. A householder killing a burglarious intruder, and a policeman killing a thief in taking him, are not punished *at all*.

The Chinese principle with regard to the punishment of crimes is precisely the same as our's,

與其殺不辜寧可失不經

"Better let the guilty escape, than put the innocent to death." How strangely this contrasts with their conduct to foreigners! Their ancient books say of capital punishment, 三其宥 "Thrice be it deferred"—and such is the actual practice at the present day, in ordinary cases; for the

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local magistrate sends the case to the provincial judge, the provincial judge to the criminal Board, and the criminal Board to the Emperor.—After trial and conviction before the local magistrate, for any offence punishable with banishment or death, the prisoner, with his friends, is brought up to be informed of his offence and its consequent penalty; and if the parties protest against the sentence, it is made the ground of another trial.—The Chinese government would pretend that foreigners are tried and sentenced *according* to the laws; but we know, from experience, that every legal safeguard, provided for the native, is dispensed with in the case of the stranger. The benefit of the delay, arising from an appeal to the Emperor, was expressly taken away from *foreign* Homicides in 1753, at the recommendation of the Canton government.—"If a *slave*, says Plato, *defends himself* and kills a *freeman*, he ought to be treated as a patricide"—"If a *European*, says the Viceroy of Canton, defends himself and kills a *Chinese*, he ought to be treated as a condemned murderer."—On this plain and intelligible ground we may rest the necessity, 1st. of non-submission to Chinese punishment; and 2nd.—(which arises out of the first) of a competent English court for the trial of homicides.—An Admiralty jurisdiction might perhaps be made to extend to the port of Canton.

Canton, Dec. 1830.

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IN CAVERNAM UBI

CAMOENS

OPUS EGREGIUM COMPOSUISSE FERTUR,

Hìc, in remotis sol ubi rupibus
Frondes per altas molliùs incidit,
Fervebat in pulchram camœnam
Ingenium Camöentis ardens:

Signum et poëtæ marmore lucido
Spirabat olim, carminibus sacrum,
Parvumque, quod vivens amavit,
Effigie decorabat antrum:

Sed jam vetustas, aut manus impia
Prostravit, heu!—Triste silentium
Regnare nunc solum videtur
Per scopulos, virides et umbras!

At fama nobis restat—at inclytum
Restat poëtæ nomen—at ingeni
Stat carmen exemplum perenne,
Ærea nec monumenta quærit.

Sic usque Virtus vincit, ad ultimos
Perducta fines temporis, exitus
Ridens sepulchrorumque inane,
Marmoris ac celerem ruinam!

Macaiæ,
MDCCCXXXI.

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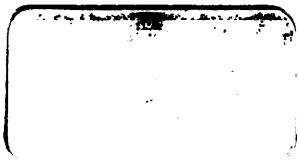

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